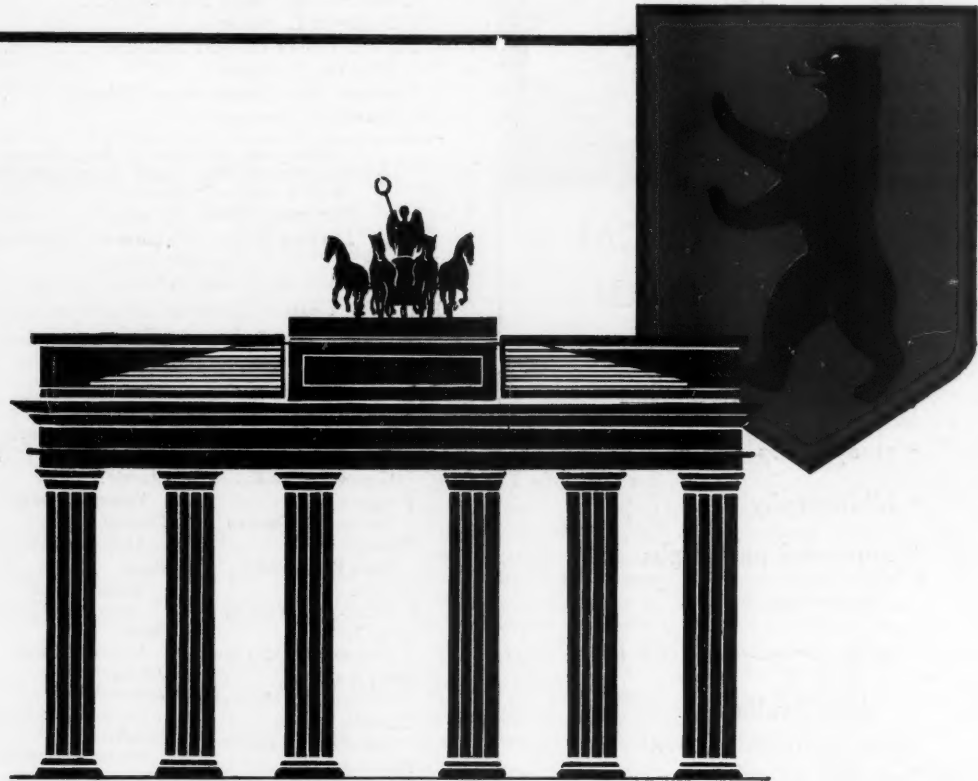


August 26, 1961

America



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by George H. Dunne

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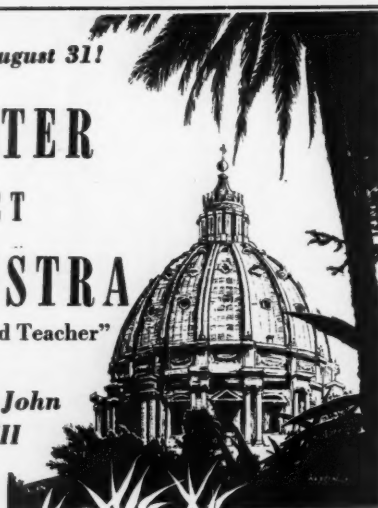
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America

National Catholic Weekly Review

Vol. 105 No. 22 August 26, 1961 Whole Number 2724

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Correspondence

Guts vs. Gall

EDITOR: It is apparent from your Comment "Hoffa Rides High" (7/22) that the writer was neither at the Miami Beach convention of the Teamsters nor was his source of information very reliable.

John English's remark that Hoffa was "the man with the most guts in America" certainly wasn't to be interpreted as you make it sound. English came up through the ranks of the labor movement and has always used rather rough language. It meant that Hoffa had the "guts" to get a job done for the membership of the organization. Your reference that the word "gall" could have been used is certainly an indication that the writer knows not of what he writes.

The reference made to rank-and-file members being barred from future conventions is another feeble attempt to misguide. One could also say the same for the U.S. Government, as every voter in the country is not permitted to go to Washington, D.C., and take an active part in lawmaking.

Certainly the officials of a local union should be the delegates at any convention. They are the ones who have been elected by secret ballot to represent the membership in the operation of the local and are the individuals directly responsible to the people who elected them. In many cases the membership meet and instruct their delegate on how he shall vote at a convention.

Newspapers and magazines have made a big issue of the \$75,000 a year that Hoffa is now being paid, but say little if anything about \$600,000 a year salaries paid to corporation heads. Nothing has been said in your magazine about the \$1,000 a day paid to a Chrysler Corporation president on retirement. The \$1,000 a day is in addition to \$80,000 a year and expenses, which is a tidy sum.

FRANK P. KIES
Secretary, Local Union 499
Bakery and General Sales Drivers
Portland, Ore.

Inside Spain

EDITOR: A friend sent me a copy of AMERICA containing Gabriel Gersh's "Franco Spain Today" (7/22). Admittedly it is difficult to locate reliable sources for all facts concerning the economic state of Spain today, but some of Mr. Gersh's statements so conflict with information given me here in Spain and with public state-

ments in the Spanish press that I believe they should be challenged.

Mr. Gersh says that "recently the [Spanish] government had to admit that it was faced with inflation and a disastrous foreign exchange situation." This was true in 1958—if he refers to that year as "recently." But he goes on to say that the government's drastic measures to change this situation have not halted inflation, prices continue to rise, gold reserves are low and "there is little chance that the expansion of the last few years can continue."

Facts reported to me and confirmed in the public press celebrating the 25th anniversary of the army's rebellion do not jibe with Mr. Gersh's statement. The price level has remained relatively stable during the past three years.

In 1958 the Spanish government, in cooperation with economic advisers from other countries—particularly from Germany—devised a plan for economic rehabilitation. On the basis of this plan it borrowed \$400 million from the International Monetary Fund. To the surprise of most economists, it succeeded in repaying all of this loan within two years. Today it has total foreign reserves exceeding \$700 million, of which more than \$200 million is in gold. During the past two weeks the press has announced the government's intention to remove restrictions on the right of non-resident Spaniards and ex-Spaniards to remove their funds heretofore blocked in Spain. The peseta has become one of the harder currencies of Europe.

An eminent German economist visited Spain this year and was quoted as saying that the recent economic recovery of Spain has been almost as great a miracle as that of Germany.

My own informants tell me that imports and exports of Spain are now practically in balance—the great boost to Spain's foreign reserves has been due to its booming tourist trade. Last year 6.2 million tourists are said to have visited Spain—mostly Europeans. This year a good many more are expected.

Admittedly many people here are not happy with the government. Certainly most Catalonians ardently desire autonomy in government and official recognition of their distinct language and culture. Workers' pay is low in comparison with other European countries of the free world. Although a widespread system of labor universities for youth of the working class and subsidized housing projects for workers bid fair to change the social climate of Spain with-

in a generation, many are unhappy because events are not moving fast enough. Spanish friends tell me of relatives and friends in artistic or literary circles who are embittered by grievous family losses during the Civil War, and who purport to admire Russia and the Communist system. Some of these same *artisticos*, I am told, are at least pietistic Catholics, given to devotion to particular *santos*, statues, shrines, pilgrimages and the like.

I limit my remarks to certain of Mr. Gersh's statements. This letter is not a suitable medium in which to present other facts which tend to focus on a more optimistic picture. By and large, however, I believe there is some basis to hope that Spain may be on the threshold of its greatest rehabilitation in centuries. Forgetting all ideologies, let us hope so.

RICHARD V. CARPENTER
Professor of Law

Loyola University
Chicago, Ill.

National Review

EDITOR: I see from the Aug. 14 issue of the New York Times that William F. Buckley Jr., editor of the *National Review*, said you were "impudent" in calling public attention (AM. 8/19, p. 624) to his magazine's criticism of the encyclical *Mater et Magistra*. He argues that his editorial attack on the encyclical of Pope John XXIII as "a venture in triviality" was the position of his editorial board. This board, he says, is made up of Catholics, Protestants and Jews. Mr. Buckley asserts that AMERICA had no business criticizing the *National Review* as though the latter were a Catholic magazine. He is quoted as saying the *National Review* is "no more Catholic because its editor is Catholic than the Administration is Catholic because the President is Catholic."

I fully agree that the *National Review* is not and should not be considered a Catholic publication. Nor did AMERICA assert that it was. But why, if the *National Review* is what Mr. Buckley says it is, namely, an independent, nonsectarian journal of opinion, do we find it officially listed with more than 200 Catholic periodicals indexed by the *Catholic Periodical Index*? Those interested in verifying this fact may consult the listings that appear in the published volumes of the *CPI*, beginning with that of January-June, 1959.

ANDREW P. CAREY
New York, N.Y.

EDITOR: Shall we all brace ourselves for Mr. Buckley's next "venture in audacity"—*God and Man in the Vatican*?

MARIE G. DOLAN
Yonkers, N.Y.

Current Comment

United Europe

What the outcome of the Berlin crisis may be, no one on either side of the Iron Curtain can say today. But we know that a Soviet victory in Berlin would have incalculable, perhaps disastrous, effects on freedom throughout Europe and therefore the world.

Even as the crisis mounts, the free nations of Western Europe move slowly toward what may be the final deterrent to Soviet expansionism on the continent. On Aug. 10 Britain submitted her formal application for membership in the European Economic Community, popularly called the Common Market.

The British application was in effect a request for negotiations with a view to British entry into the Common Market, nothing more. At least a year is expected to pass before a decision is made on British membership.

More years, difficult negotiations and deep changes in public opinion will be needed before the nations of Western Europe broaden their economic union into an effective political and military federation. Yet if they value their freedom, that is what they must do.

The six nations which now form the Common Market have a population of 170 million. Britain would add 53 million, bringing the total to 223 million—and more might be expected as other nations joined. Western Europe, therefore, is more than a match for the Soviet Union's population of 209 million.

More important, the nations of Western Europe are more heavily industrialized and vastly more productive than the Soviet Union. These nations are an enormous potential power fully capable of meeting Soviet might with greater might. We hope they can actualize their power before it is too late.

The Political Offensive

Confronted with the unified and heavily armed Soviet empire, the comfort-loving, loosely-united democracies of the West are prone to panic and appeasement. Panic, however, is needless and irrational.

It is true that to a large extent the West's superior industrial power is only potential military power. But it is not true that we approach the Soviet Union from a position of hopeless weakness, while the Soviets negotiate from a position of absolute strength.

Mr. Khrushchev is no more ready than we to engage in a general war. He is simply more ready to take a calculated risk of war, because he counts on our backing off when the pressure mounts too high. As a result, he enjoys all the advantages of the initiative.

There is no reason why he must enjoy these advantages. Our military goals are defensive. But, as West Germany's Defense Minister, Franz-Josef Strauss, said last month:

Politically, we may take the offensive. For there is one factor that we must never forget: the will of the people under the Communist yoke to be free. If we remain on the offensive politically, the Soviet Union will have no chance to conceal her weaknesses.

The U.S. Government understandably hesitates to stir up the peoples of Eastern Europe to revolt against their Communist overlords. But that should not prevent us from voicing a constant demand for the freedom of Eastern Europe in the United Nations, at international conferences like the recent meeting at Punta del Este in Uruguay and throughout the neutral nations. Mr. Khrushchev, like Achilles, has a tender heel. We should prod it—and keep prodding it—until he winces.

Premier and Prestige

When Mr. Khrushchev crudely showed his hand and admitted that the Soviet Union's prestige was involved in the Berlin crisis, a new and frightening note was injected—"it's my prestige against yours."

The off-the-cuff statement came at an Aug. 11 Soviet-Roumanian friendship meeting. Understandably, the text of Khrushchev's address that appeared in the Aug. 12 edition of *Pravda* did not

include the words, "our fight for the recognition of our grandeur." For such an emphasis would have shattered the official image projected to the Soviet people—an image of peace-loving comrades standing up against warmongering capitalists, but not interested in anything as selfish as prestige.

It is hard but important for us to know this image—the one the Soviet people see. For several years now, almost without exception, *Pravda* has presented a genial, smiling, comradely Nikita. The Aug. 10 issue, for example, shows him cheerily embracing Cosmonauts Gagarin and Titov, who are radiant with gratitude. When Khrushchev refers to Titov as "our well-beloved son," Titov thanks him for his "fatherly kindness." The father image par excellence!

Thus the official text of Khrushchev's Aug. 11 speech gives the desired impression: though the U.S.A. talks of destroying life, the USSR values nothing but life—"this is our philosophy, this is true humanism!" Despite Mr. Kennedy's sword-rattling, Comrade Khrushchev will not let the USSR be intimidated, but neither will he threaten in return. For all he seeks is brotherhood and peace. . . . The tragic and dangerous thing is that the Russian people, with no other sources of information, and having good reason to hate war, very likely take this to be true.

Red China: Dope Peddler

Sen. Thomas J. Dodd (D., Conn.) may not be waging a one-man campaign against the "inevitable" admission of Red China to the UN. Nevertheless, he has been an articulate spokesman on the issue for the vast majority of the legislators on Capitol Hill. In a statement on the Senate floor last July 28, he pointed out the need for "a more detailed justification of our attitude" toward the Peiping regime. "If there is an increasing sentiment among the free nations for the admission of Red China to the UN," he remarked, "I believe this is because the facts about Red China are not adequately known."

We have not been loud enough in denouncing Red Chinese aggression in Asia. Said Senator Dodd:

I consider it important to make specific reference to the Chinese Communist occupation of large

America • AUGUST 26, 1961

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areas that have been traditionally recognized as part of the territories of India and Burma. The Asian peoples may be prone to forget-prone, like all of us, to indulge in wishful thinking—but this is an issue they understand. . . . I also believe that we have permitted the issue of Tibet to be too easily forgotten.

Again, little is known of the role played by Red China in the international narcotics traffic. During 1959, 15,000 pounds of raw opium were seized in countries bordering Red China. Virtually all had come from Red Chinese territory. Citing the *Journal de Genève*, Mr. Dodd noted that in the decade ending in 1959 the Chinese Communists had increased opium production from 8,000 to 13,000 tons. Obviously the huge crop was not for internal consumption.

Surely, it cannot be "inevitable" that the arch dope peddler of all time merits the approval of law-abiding nations.

Playing the Communist Game

South Vietnam's desperate war against Communist guerrillas seems to have entered a new phase. Reports have it that government troops have moved into neighboring Laos and North Vietnam in an effort to cut the flow of Communist supplies and reinforcements at their source. Saigon has neither confirmed nor denied the reports. Moreover, if a new strategy of counterinfiltration has the sanction of Washington, mum has been the word in the nation's capital. Nevertheless, the reports are encouraging. Some new and imaginative approach to the problem of halting Communist infiltration in Southeast Asia has been long overdue.

For seven years, Red guerrillas, supplied from Communist-held North Vietnam, have been waging a dirty, elusive war in the jungles, villages, rice fields and thickly wooded mountain areas of South Vietnam. This is the war to which President Kennedy referred in his recent address on the Berlin crisis when he spoke of the equally dangerous Communist challenge 5,000 miles away in Southeast Asia. There, he pointed out, "the borders are less guarded, the enemy harder to find." Since January, 2,500 men have died in the jungles of South Vietnam—three times the casualties of a year's fighting in Laos.

This is the sort of war that cannot be won except by beating the Communists at their own game. Wipe out one Red guerrilla concentration and another takes its place from across the border. Carrying the fight into the enemy's heartland may be regarded by some as a violation of international law. To the hardheaded realist, however, there is only one way to lick the Reds in Southeast Asia. That is by giving the Communists a dose of their own medicine. If tough, U.S.-trained Vietnamese marines are not operating in Laos and North Vietnam, they ought to be—and we hope they will be soon.

Niebuhr on the Encyclical

The Protestant theologian Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr has spent the better part of his life studying the social implications of the Gospel. Thus, his evaluation of the new social encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, has special interest for both Catholics and Protestants. Writing in the Aug. 6 *Christianity and Crisis*, the "Christian journal of opinion" (537 W. 121st St., New York 27, N.Y.) of which, with Dr. John C. Bennett, he is co-editor, Dr. Niebuhr described the encyclical as a "formidable document." It is "a welcome extension" of Catholic social teaching "to the new era of a technical civilization that is troubled by the bewildering possibilities of good and evil inherent in automation and nuclear energy."

Only on the issue of birth control did the writer express open dissent. In the main, he obviously holds that the papal program is on the right track. If non-Catholics (Protestants and secularists) were amazed by the liberal stands of a Church reputed to be incurably "reactionary," Niebuhr was not among them. He found no mystery in the fact that, at some points, the encyclical reads like a page from Gunnar Myrdal's *Rich Lands, Poor Lands*, in its advocacy of political means to reduce social and

economic inequalities around the globe.

It has always been one of the virtues of Catholicism, Dr. Niebuhr recalled to his readers, that it was never tempted to the extreme individualism of many versions of Protestant and secular faith. The Church, he added, "also skipped the whole period of classical economy and never doubted that political authority should exercise dominance over the economic sphere in the interest of justice." Dr. Niebuhr's paper is an effective and sincere effort to interpret the encyclical to the non-Catholic student in terms both intelligible and intelligent.

The Pope and Socialization

When the London *Tablet* (July 22) introduced *Mater et Magistra* to the people of England with nary a reference to "socialization," the suspicions of some U.S. conservatives were immediately aroused. Had the liberal American press attributed to the Pope something he had no intentions of saying? How did the official Latin text read?

To begin with, the word *socializatio* does not appear in the Latin text. Nor would we expect it to do so. A Latin stylist, polishing a document of this sort, would instinctively shy away from transliterating a vernacular word. He naturally refuses to coin a word if he can avoid doing so. Hence one looks in vain for a simple Latin rendition of such terms as television, smoking, co-operatives, social insurance and the like.

Even so, there can be no quarrel about what the Holy Father had in mind. He speaks of a certain progressive social development (*incrementa socialium rationum*) peculiar to our times that deserves special attention. If this were nothing more than "social action" (as the *Tablet* would have it), it would hardly be called "peculiar to our times" or be singled out for special and explicit treatment.

To avoid any misunderstandings of what this modern phenomenon is, the

The American Press announces that its bimonthly publication, CATHOLIC MIND, is soon to become a monthly. It will appear in a fresh format and page-size, and with even more varied and valuable contents. We also announce the start of another venture, the AMERICA RECORD SOCIETY.

More details next week.

Pope is careful to explain it in words which, in Latin, are polysyllabic and roundabout, but perfectly clear. The text in question reads: "a growing interdependence of men in society giving rise to various patterns of group life and activity and in many instances to social institutions established on a juridical basis." In modern language, unencumbered by self-imposed limitations of style, this can best be labeled by the one word, "socialization." Thus, this was the word chosen by those who prepared the Vatican's English, French, Spanish and Italian versions.

It would be most regrettable if, arguing from the absence of an expected word, one were to deny the idea that the Pope was expressing. Call it what you will, the idea conveyed by the word "socialization" is clearly contained in *Mater et Magistra*, and that approvingly.

The Rich Imperiled

"The exploitation of the rich by the poor, there's an unmentionable disease for you." And Newburgh's city government would heartily agree. They would also applaud the Baron de Coëtquidan in Henry de Montherlant's novel *The Bachelors* (Macmillan, 1961) when he continues: "It's always everything for the poor! When three-quarters of the poor are only poor because they asked for it."

If that's the case, suppose we offer a few suggestions that we think are perfectly in keeping with this viewpoint.

Item 1: Why feed the inmates of the city jail more than once a day for 90 days? Society doesn't owe them anything.

Item 2: Establish a city port of entry and admit only those who can support themselves for a year and a day. (The 18th-century Poor Laws of England provide an admirable model.)

Item 3: There's no reason why reliefers shouldn't work for the city. They work for you; you look after them—just as on the old pre-Civil war plantations. This couldn't be slavery, because Newburgh's in New York, and this is 1961.

Item 4: Fires are a nuisance. Most of them are caused by downright carelessness. Teach the citizens the hard way that fire prevention is their responsibility. Think of the money to be saved

by abolishing the city fire department.

Item 5: Since it's the professional training of doctors and nurses that makes them so expensive and, what's worse, encourages them to keep city dependents alive longer than necessary, get rid of these professionals and hire ex-athletes, retired policemen and displaced executives for jobs in the city hospital.

Item 6: To be logical, why not get rid of the city council? They all agree with the city manager anyhow. Better still, let's dispense with the whole business. Life could be so beautiful without all this worry about the poor!

MRA's Founder

Buchmanism, Oxford Group, Moral Rearmament—all these names meant successive phases in the life of one man: Dr. Frank N. D. Buchman, international evangelist extraordinary, who died Aug. 7 at the age of 83. The end came, appropriately and poetically enough, in the same Black Forest village of Freudenberg, Germany, where, in 1938, as Europe armed for war, he conceived the idea of a campaign for "moral rearmament."

After brief service as a Lutheran minister, Pennsylvania-born "Frank" Buchman in 1921 branched out on his own apostolic program. He quickly demonstrated a rare capacity to reform lives by his personal influence. There are many in all continents who have cause to thank him for the "change" brought about in their shattered lives by their contacts with MRA.

It was never Dr. Buchman's intention to found a new religion. To his dying day he thought that all men, regardless of their religion, could adopt his maxims. A certain number of Catholics were, in fact, strongly attracted to Moral Rearmament. But his concepts of prayer and conversion were fundamentally Protestant and his efforts to make Moral Rearmament acceptable to all ended by creating serious theological ambiguities. As a consequence, many bishops, and the Holy Office itself, found it necessary to warn Catholics of the dangers of co-operating with MRA.

Will Dr. Buchman's work live after him? The intensely personal stamp he gave to MRA makes one doubt that the movement can continue in its present form. With the moderating hand of Dr.

Buchman removed from the helm, the work may soon pass through a serious internal religious crisis. This will be a moment of grave danger for those few Catholics still active in MRA work.

Freedom of Education

Americans are apt to consider the demand for Federal aid to nonpublic schools as a new and unheard-of impertinence. As a matter of fact, however, the protest against discrimination in the public support of education is very nearly world-wide. Two recent statements from distant lands make this clear.

In Australia a non-Catholic Member of Parliament, Alan Fraser, scored plans by the New South Wales Council of Churches to launch a pulpit crusade against state help for nonpublic schools. Mr. Fraser, who belongs to the Labor party, said:

My view is based on the conviction that the fundamental responsibility for the education of a child rests with its parents. If they wish to place the responsibility in the hands of the state, well and good. But if on the other hand they wish to discharge it through a private school, then—provided the standards of the compulsory education system are met—they should have the right to do so without being penalized.

In Brazil, Gov. Carlos Lacerda of the State of Guanabara presented virtually the same argument. He said:

To reserve independent education only for the children of those who can pay from their own pocket for a private school is tantamount to saying that only the rich have the right to educate their children according to their preferences or according to the vocation or aptitude of the children.

American Catholics may take some comfort in the thought that we are not alone in our educational battle.

TV's "Wasteland" Exposed

When Cleveland's WEWS-TV recently dropped one of television's most popular shows, "The Untouchables," the management had to face a barrage of irate inquiries. Two reasons were offered for the drastic change: excessive violence and the need for better pro-

gram balance. The coming season will very likely witness a number of such changes throughout the country.

Since Newton N. Minow of the Federal Communications Commission released his excoriating blast against what he called the "TV wasteland," it has become stylish to cast stones left and right. Producer Hubbell Robinson, in the July 15 issue of *TV Guide*, calls "the bulk of television writing shoddy—a mess of plottage." Writers blame producers; producers blame sponsors; sponsors blame the advertising agencies. Little doubt that something is amiss with TV as an art.

John J. Henderson, president of Henderson & McNelis, research firm (342 Madison Ave., New York 17), announces a new "Station Image Audit" to help TV stations evaluate audience attitudes. This service is based on wide surveys and in-depth psychological interviews designed to help station managers raise standards of programing. We wish it luck.

The moral issue in TV is Sen. Thomas J. Dodd's present worry. He is chairman of a subcommittee on juvenile delinquency which is investigating the alleged link between crimes witnessed on TV and crimes committed. We'll be

awfully surprised if somebody proves no connection exists.

Television is a mass medium and will stay one for a long time. As one executive put it, "TV can't hope to be any better than the *Saturday Evening Post*." Granted. However, it would seem to have some distance to go before achieving that goal. Meanwhile, the only solution is vigilance. In the matter of TV-viewing, Secretary Abraham A. Ribicoff has the right formula: "Parents must learn to get tough with themselves and their children." And, we add, with offending programs and the networks that carry them.

"Above All, Your Prayers"

IN A SWIFT RAID through the Shenandoah Valley in 1864, Confederate Gen. Jubal Early came within a hair's breadth of capturing Washington. For a few days the fate of the capital and its President was in doubt. A Union minister in a town occupied by Confederate forces approached Early and inquired if he might continue to offer prayers for Mr. Lincoln. Union commanders, when the situation was reversed, had forbidden prayers for President Davis. "Of course," said old Jube magnanimously, "he needs them."

The Yankee minister's custom of praying for the President was a laudable one. It might well lead Catholics of the present day to examine their own consciences. Do they pray for the man in the White House?

Time was long ago when prayer for the head of the state was an official part of the liturgy. Centuries back Catholics prayed on Good Friday for their "Most Christian Emperor N." (N. was for *Nomen*—whatever his name might be.) But things were simpler then: all of Christianity was, theoretically at least, united under one sovereign. The Holy Roman Empire, however, died officially in 1806; a century and a half later, in the 1955 revision of the liturgy, the prayer for the Emperor died, too. Have Catholics, stopped praying for their temporal rulers? Of course not. In the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, for instance, Cardinal McIntyre has directed the priests of his 295 parishes to add prayers for the President after all Masses. "Pray," the Cardinal directed his flock, "that God will direct our President in the path of justice, truth and charity."

However, the lack of a generally approved prayer prompted Mary McLaughlin to write a letter recently to *AMERICA* (7/22). She com-

plained that, although she had seen foreign missals which contained prayers for the English Queen, the Belgian King and the French government, there was no such prayer for the President of the United States.

A goodly number of readers seconded Miss McLaughlin's complaint. As a solution they proposed the prayer of John Carroll, first American bishop. The prayer is found in many current missals, including the *Lasance Missal for Every Day* and the *St. Andrew Daily Missal*.

The Archbishop's prayer was composed in 1800, a troubled time, just a few short months after American frigates had ceased their undeclared war with France. "O God," runs a part of Carroll's petition, "assist . . . the President of these United States, that his administration may be conducted in righteousness and be eminently useful to Thy people over whom he presides."

This prayer is in use in many localities today. Msgr. Francis J. Jansen of Hammond, Indiana, wrote in his reply to Miss McLaughlin's letter that his congregation recites it every Thanksgiving Day after Mass. In the Archdiocese of San Francisco, Carroll's prayer is recited on the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, Patroness of the United States.

No one will deny that the President needs prayers. Mr. Lincoln needed them in 1864, and Mr. Kennedy needs them today. He openly confessed as much in his recent Berlin speech. "I could not realize," said the President, "nor could any man realize who does not bear the burden of this office, how heavy and constant would be these burdens." He concluded by asking his fellow Americans for "your good will, your support and above all, your prayers."

It is a modest and reasonable request, one that all Americans should be eager to fulfill.

GERARD F. GIBLIN, S.J.

FR. GIBLIN, recently ordained, has published widely in the periodical press.

Washington Front

KENNEDY AND CUBA

TRAINED NEWSMEN who have been getting around the country say it is not true, as some of our pundits have asserted, that Americans are indifferent in this summer of crisis. They have found that their countrymen are in a contentious mood.

The reporters come back to Washington and tell us that there is strong sentiment in the land for a no-retreat posture on Berlin, and even more powerful sentiment for a Marine-led assault on Fidel Castro's Cuba.

President Kennedy has been heartened by the widespread support of his handling of the Berlin crisis, but disturbed by the let's-do-something-about-Castro sentiment. As for the lawmakers on Capitol Hill who have tried to exploit this anti-Castro mood—well, the Chief Executive's feeling about them has been pretty close to scorn.

Unlike his predecessor in the White House, Mr. Kennedy is proud to call himself a politician. He understands other politicians and is inclined to be indulgent toward the demagogues. But the recent uproar on the Hill, touched off by the hijacking of a Pan American World Airways jet, was too much for him.

And so, for the first time in a long while, Washington saw a President administer a rebuke to Congress—specifically to the Senators and Representatives who, ignorant of the fact that the hijacker was a Frenchman, accused Premier Castro of the crime and called on the Administration to “go in and get” plane, passengers and crew.

Above all, the rebuke was aimed at Rep. James A. Haley, a Florida Democrat, who said that the Administration seemed to be waiting until “the Cubans steal one of the helicopters off the White House lawn.”

Mr. Kennedy, at a news conference the next day, told his one-time colleagues in Congress to keep their shirts on and “not get overexcited about matters when our information is so faulty, so incomplete.” He called on them to “act with the prudence which is worthy of a great power [responsible] for the defense of freedom all around the world.”

What effect this rebuke will have remains to be seen, but it's a safe bet that the more wild-eyed orators will wait in the future until they at least know one thing—the nationality of the hijacker.

Meantime, veteran observers here are saying that there was something familiar about Mr. Kennedy's crackdown. It reminded them of the days when President Harry S. Truman used to let fly at Congress with what he called “one of my little lectures.”

EDWARD T. FOLLIARD

On All Horizons

SCHOOL SEASON • Summer schools for the children of migrant farm workers are being conducted by students and graduates of Marygrove and Siena Heights Colleges at nine centers near Detroit, Mich.

NEW BELEN • Havana's famous Belén High School, a Jesuit institution, will be rebuilt in the Miami area at the invitation of Bishop Coleman F. Carroll of Miami.

LATE ARRIVALS • The School of St. Philip Neri for delayed vocations (126 Newbury St., Boston 16, Mass.) now boasts 276 alumni who are priests—66 per cent of them in the diocesan clergy, the rest in 28 religious orders. Another 389 hopefuls are still on the way. One recent applicant is 64 years old.

PRAY TOGETHER • Bishop John J. Wright of Pittsburgh will conduct a retreat for Protestant clergymen Sept. 12-

14 at the Marydale Retreat House, Covington, Ky.

ACTION • Aug. 25-27, laity and clergy interested in the social apostolate will be meeting at the Univ. of Detroit under the sponsorship of the National Catholic Social Action Conference. Information man is Bob Senser, 21 W. Superior St., Chicago 10, Ill.

AWARD • An American Lutheran movie, *Question Seven*, won the prize awarded by the International Catholic Film Bureau at Berlin's eleventh Film Festival.

FELLOWSHIPS • The American Academy in Rome is offering a number of fellowships to younger architects, artists and scholars who are capable of independent work. Application deadline: Dec. 30, 1961. Request details from Executive Secretary, American Academy in Rome, 101 Park Ave., New York 17, N.Y.

TEACH ALL NATIONS • Almost 25 years ago, a young priest in Manila published a plain-talk catechism called *My Catholic Faith*. Today nearly a million copies have been sold, and a new, 430-page illustrated Silver Jubilee edition is coming off the presses at Mission House, 1324 52nd St., Kenosha, Wis. The author, Louis La Ravoire Morrow, is now Bishop of Krishnagar, India.

HALVED • The new Dutch catechism, to be published later this year, has only 217 questions for children to learn by heart. The older catechism which it replaces had 548, well over twice as many.

FEED MY LAMBS • Proof of the warm respect that American Catholics have for our Holy Father is evidenced by an announcement from America Press Pamphlets that advance sale of its study edition of Pope John's new encyclical has already broken all previous records. AP's study edition, containing 111 discussion questions, commentary and bibliography, can be had for 50¢ from 920 Broadway, New York 10, N.Y. W.H.Q.

Editorials

Berlin Drama Begins

THE POT has really begun to seethe in Berlin. Early Sunday morning, August 13, the Iron Curtain banged down at the Brandenburg Gate and other check points, sealing the unhappy East Berliners in their Communist prison. Two battle-ready Soviet Army divisions—two of an estimated total of twenty divisions on the move in East Germany—rumbled artillery into strategic positions. The struggle for Berlin had commenced.

A mounting flood of East Berliners had for weeks been pouring through the line that separates East from West Berlin. The humiliating spectacle finally became so unbearable to the Communists that they were forced to take action (See George H. Dunne, "Red Bear and Pink Toenails," p. 653). Thus, a dangerous and highly explosive situation now exists there. It has been created by the Kremlin for two purposes: first, to check the wave of refugees; second, to test the intentions of the West.

What will be our reaction to this carefully calculated violation of treaty agreements? A vigorous protest, several of them, and nothing more? But protests mean nothing to the Soviet Union. We must unflinchingly use every means possible to put teeth in our verbal remonstrances. If the Reds succeed in this violation of treaty, they will go boldly on to stage two, the signing of a separate peace treaty with East Germany, and then to stage three, the closing of the access routes to West Berlin.

Our position is not strong. Militarily, at the present moment, our conventional armed force is much inferior to that which the Soviet Union can bring against us in Berlin. True, we are moving fast to build up our now inadequate conventional forces there and elsewhere. Though this step-up will by no means bring us to a level of armed might commensurate with the power of the Soviet Army, it may help to convince Khrushchev that we intend to honor our promises to West Berlin with steel.

For still another reason, however, our military posture is weaker now than it ought to be. We have of late been giving the impression that we would never be the first to push the button that detonates a nuclear weapon. We are rightly loath to use megaton weapons on the cities of our enemy. But, quite incorrectly, we are being understood in some quarters as renouncing not only the once-current strategy of "massive retaliation" with nuclear bombs, but even our nuclear arsenal of weapons of the smaller, tactical variety. This misunderstanding needs to be corrected.

Besides—and let us admit it—there is an alarming amount of disunity and distraction among our allies. France is eager to take a strong line on Berlin, but she

is distracted by her galling troubles in North Africa, which occupy so many of her best troops. Britain, as is all too evident from the British press, is frightened, and a vocal part of British public opinion is pressing the government for quick "negotiations"—negotiations which obviously, since they would be undertaken in a craven spirit, could lead only to surrender and humiliation for the West. Finally, with the initiative securely in Khrushchev's hands at almost every turn, he is skillfully using his Pavlov technique—alternating threats and cajolery—now to scare, now to mollify, always to attempt to divide us.

Thus we cannot exaggerate the difficulties that face us and the need we have to respond promptly and willingly to leadership from our President during this time of testing for the West. Perhaps our best strategy with Khrushchev is to sit tight, offer nothing, absolutely nothing, refusing to go to the conference table until we have mobilized our full moral and physical force, and until we know how, through strong diplomatic and economic countermeasures, we intend to regain the initiative. If we keep our nerve, we shall be able to keep our promises.

Latin Clock Ticks On

IF THE UNITED STATES faces dreadful odds in Berlin, she is by no means getting things her way in Latin America. We hoped to unite a free Latin America against a Communist intruder in Cuba. So far we have failed. The Inter-American Economic and Social Conference, held in mid-August in Punta del Este, Uruguay, dramatized that failure. The conference was intended as the historic launching pad for President Kennedy's Alliance for Progress, a multi-billion-dollar program of aid for Latin America. Our neighbors to the south gratefully accepted our tools and dollars and technical aid, but many of them kept a soft spot in their hearts for Fidel Castro. The slogan at Punta del Este was "Cuba, sí; Yankees, too!"

Our 60-man delegation to the Uruguay meeting was a model of efficiency, propriety and nonpartisanship. But Maj. Ernesto ("Che") Guevara, Cuban Minister of Industry, on hand in green fatigues, felt much less inhibited about politicking. And he pretty well stole the show. The result of Guevara's work: a number of Latin American republics are putting pressure on Washington to give tacit acceptance to the Communist state in Cuba and to develop a policy of coexistence with it. This would mean that we could not invoke the Trading with the Enemy Act, thereby stopping all trade between the two countries, without offending public opinion in important Latin American quarters. If Washington goes along, then "Che" Guevara's victory at Punta del Este was even bigger and easier than he thought it would be.

Events are moving rapidly in South America. Nowhere, of course, has the eye-defying speed of Communist infiltration been more forcefully demonstrated than in Cuba. Many of us failed to see what was already beginning to happen in Castro's country a mere two

years ago. At that time, in an analysis of the Castro regime after its first six months in power, Herbert L. Matthews (see p. 660) wrote in the *New York Times* for July 16, 1959:

This is not a Communist revolution in any sense of the word, and there are no Communists in positions of control. . . . There are no Reds in the Cabinet and none in high positions in the government or army in the sense of being able to control either governmental or defense policies. The only power worth considering in Cuba is in the hands of Premier Castro, who is not only not Communist but decidedly anti-Communist. . . . Premier Castro and his followers have made it clear that as Cuban patriots working for Cuba and the Cuban people, they are against communism since the Reds have entirely different aims and loyalties.

After that story—Mr. Matthews at the time called it “an outline of the situation as it really is”—read this one by another *Times* correspondent exactly 25 months later (August 13, 1961):

The Cuba regime has now avowedly committed itself to turning Cuba into a Communist state. Whatever the Cuban Premier's original ideological viewpoint, there is no doubt among observers here that he has now fully accepted communism as the system that will give Cuba the push to solve her problems.

Yes, affairs move fast all over today's world. But they have a special momentum to the south of us. There is no time to waste. Whatever we plan to do for Latin America—with dollars, diplomacy, technical aid, but above all with understanding and love—let's start now.

Where We Go From Here

AS THIS YEAR'S session of Congress amply proved, there is as yet no national consensus in favor of Federal aid to education. That is why a combination of Republicans, conservative Democrats and Catholics in Congress was able to defeat the Federal-aid-to-education bill. Congressman James J. Delaney (see p. 654) played Sparrow to the Federal aid Cock Robin. But he was able to put the fatal arrow in the bird only because a lot of other Congressmen stood behind him and helped him hold the bow.

The Federal aid bill is dead, but it will not rest in peace. Next year, or the year after, the drive for Federal aid to public schools—that is what “aid to education” has been made to mean—will start again. The chances are that sooner or later this drive will achieve its goal.

It will do us little good, we fear, merely to tell the tide to stop. If American Catholics content themselves with the role of King Canute, our parochial schools may eventually be swept away by a flood of Federal money pouring into the public schools. Our attitude must rather be that when and if enough Americans want Federal aid to elementary and secondary schools, they may have it—but not without us and not against us.

We must therefore have a positive plan to offer to Congress and the public as an alternative to this year's discriminatory Federal-aid-to-education bill. We suggest that ideally such a plan would combine Federal aid with strong protection for local control of the public schools and for the freedom of parents to educate their children in nonpublic schools. These are old American traditions, well established in our constitutional law. They represent positive civic values; we owe it to ourselves and our country to protect them. We shall be on sound ground in insisting that any Federal-aid-to-education program must adequately safeguard local control and individual freedom of choice in education.

Our plan, to have any chance of success, must first of all represent the consensus of the American Catholic community. It is essential, not only that Catholics should know what they want, but that all or most of us should genuinely want it. The immediate task of Catholic leadership, lay as well as clerical, is the formation of this consensus. In the months ahead we must stimulate the kind of discussion among Catholics that will lead to a solid agreement among ourselves on our goals in the matter of aid to education.

Our plan, secondly, must be such that we can get it accepted by the public at large through the American democratic process. We must therefore act—and seem to act—as citizens and not as ecclesiastics or members of the Catholic Church. The public must be made to understand that we are not looking for a subsidy to our Church. What we want is relief from a civic inequity and adequate protection for our constitutional right as Americans to educate our children in accordance with our conscience.

In our opinion the kind of Federal-aid-to-education program that would best meet these requirements would be one modeled on the G.I. Bill of Rights. In this kind of program, the government gives aid directly to the student (or to his parents, if the student is a child) in the form of vouchers which may be redeemed as tuition payments by whatever school the student attends.

This sort of aid is impartial: it treats all students alike, regardless of the school they attend. It involves a minimum of Federal interference with the local administration of schools. Since the direct beneficiary of the aid is the student, there should be no question of a violation of the establishment-of-religion clause of the First Amendment. Finally, this way of administering Federal aid to education gives maximum freedom of choice to the parents of school children. It enables them to send their children to any recognized school without suffering the loss of Federal aid benefits.

We do not propose this plan as the final and definitive answer to the problem of Federal aid to education. But we see great merit in it and think it deserves serious consideration. In the course of the coming year, before the next struggle over Federal aid begins, we hope that the American Catholic community will give this and other plans prolonged and deep thought. We must not meet the next crisis unprepared.

Red Bear and Pink Toenails

George H. Dunne

PINK TOENAILS, the painted kind, have never found favor with me. They seemed a move in the wrong direction, taking us back toward a "bells on my fingers and rings on my toes" kind of primitive society. Neither have I been known as a champion of Madison Avenue. I have looked with jaundiced eye upon the world of advertising which exalts the dubious merits of products most of us could well do without and persuades people that they need a variety of things they really don't need at all. And although by nature not disposed to look kindly upon any sort of censorship, the blatant vulgarity of cheap cheesecake cover illustrations exploited by so large a part of the magazine trade has seemed to me from every point of view indefensible.

Perspective is an interesting phenomenon. There is a church in Rome, St. Ignatius, where you must stand on one spot, marked by a small mosaic, in order to see in proper perspective the rather remarkable fresco which covers the ceiling of the nave. Move even a few feet away to right or to left from that point of view and the perspective changes. Things look radically different.

When I passed through the Brandenburg Gate from West Berlin into East Berlin things immediately looked radically different. And the farther I moved into East Berlin the more different they looked. Like everyone else, I had read about the striking contrast between West and East Berlin. I had not doubted what I had read, but I had not really grasped the profound nature of that contrast. There is no use trying to describe this passage from light to shadow, from life to death. Only those who have actually themselves crossed the river Styx can understand what the passage is like. There is no reason to suppose that I could make it more understandable to others than others were able to make it to me. To grasp it, one must oneself experience the almost shattering impact of crossing from West to East Berlin.

West Berlin is a city bursting with life. East Berlin is a city which looks upon you out of the lustreless eyes of death. It is not simply a question of West Berlin's streets crowded with autos, sidewalks brimming with people, shops crowded with customers, stores bursting with food, with furs, with clothes, with appliances. Nor is the contrast merely between the stark ruins which are still the predominant landscape of East Berlin and West Berlin's new and modern buildings, which have sprung up

at an extraordinary rate where at war's end there was only rubble. For even when, as along their Stalinallee, the Communists have made a determined and deliberate attempt to match West Berlin's building display, the effort has come to naught. The buildings are there—apartments above, showcase state-owned stores below. They are massive and grandiose, each one exactly like its neighbor, all done in a heavy, stolid Soviet style, and all totally incapable of distilling a breath of life into the broad street upon which they stand. Stalinallee remains as dead as Alexanderplatz or Wilhelmstrasse, where Hitler's death bunker is now just a grass-covered mound, or Unter den Linden, where the once-famed Adlon Hotel is a rubbish heap probably inhabited by rats.

When I came back through the Brandenburg Gate into West Berlin, leaving behind the hostile faces, the uncertain faces, the fearful faces, the pathetic faces, it was like a resurrection. Never had I seen anything as lovely as the painted pink toenails. Eagerly I drank in the colorful advertisements on every side: *Konditorei Mohring, Zum guten Bier, Wunderbarer Jacobs Kaffee, Imperial Weinbrand, St. John Rum!* Even the magazine kiosks with their too generous display of flesh and sex (though not as generous as those in Rome) were a welcome sight. Like the pink toenails and the flaunted ads they cried out: FREEDOM! FREEDOM! FREEDOM! and their cry seemed to make a song which echoed through the streets and, like sunlight, touched the buildings into life, dispelled darkness from alleyways, made eyes sparkle and laughter ring and hearts rejoice.

It came to me that this is what makes the contrast so shocking. It came to me that this is what our world is all about. This is what the world-wide struggle is all about. It is about freedom, and therefore about life; for the two are one. Girls free to paint their toenails every color or no color. Men free to flaunt their commercial boasts. Other men free to be foolish or not to be fooled. Free to believe or to disbelieve. Men free to follow Christ or to serve the devil.

I saw a sign ride by on the side of a beautiful double-decker bus. "*Mach mal Pause, Trink Coca-Cola, das erfrischt richtig.*" it commanded. A moment later another sign rode by with just the contrary advice: "*Dir zum Lohne trink Darbohne!*" Again it came to me that this is what it is all about. I don't have to drink Coca-Cola or Darbohne. I can take them or leave them, drink either or both or neither. This is what makes our kind of world a world worth living in. This is what makes

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West Berlin a city that teems with life and East Berlin a city of death.

It came to me that this is not only our kind of a world. It is God's kind of a world. God's kind of a world is a world in which men are free to make their choices, to choose heaven or to choose hell. People who say: "How could God permit sin?" don't know what they are saying. A world in which men could not sin is a world in which men are not free. If you want a microscopic view of that kind of world visit East Berlin. The tragedy of communism is that it thinks man can be brought to salvation by being deprived of his freedom to choose.

I saw no pink toenails in East Berlin. Apart from dreary party propaganda slogans hanging on red banners across dismal factory fronts, I saw no advertising. I saw no vulgar magazine displays. The party has done away with the occasions of sin, the temptations to be frivolous or foolish or wicked. God's world, on the contrary, is filled with temptations and occasions of sin. That is the way He made it from the beginning when He began by planting the tree of forbidden fruit in the Garden of Eden: something to be remembered, not only by Marxists, but also by others who easily succumb to the temptation to appeal to the Inquisition or the Holy Office or the police power of the state to save us from the occasions of sin.

It is not just a matter of painted toenails. These may one day come to East Berlin. They may even be there now, unnoticed by me. But painted toenails will look entirely different in East Berlin than they do in West Berlin. No more than the imposing Georgian architecture of Stalinalee will they be able to lift the pall of

death that hangs over this city from which people were fleeing at the rate of 300 a day when I was there, a figure greatly swollen since. Because, no more than the buildings on Stalinalee will they symbolize freedom. Like those buildings, they will be only another manifestation of death. For when painted toenails appear it will not be because girls have *chosen* to paint their toenails pink or green or some other outlandish color, but because a Communist bureaucrat or a faceless Communist bureau has decided that painted toenails serve the ends of the regime and are therefore to be cultivated. Freedom—and therefore life—spring not from decisions imposed, but from choices made.

I spent the evening of my return from East Berlin leaning out my open window, like a true Roman, gazing upon the human pageant in the street below: the boys and girls holding hands, the crowded sidewalk cafés, the throngs pouring out of theatres, even the silly people craning necks like Hollywood simpletons to catch a glimpse of some featherbrained movie star (it was International Film Festival Week in Berlin), the neon signs, the noisy cars, the murmur of human voices, the ready laughter, the beautiful sight of faces that were neither sullen, nor hateful, nor filled with fear.

I realized exactly what Khrushchev means when he says that West Berlin is a chicken bone stuck in his throat. How can he permit this confrontation in a Communist heartland between this small island in which men are free to make their choices and which throbs with the pulse of life worth living, and the city where death walks through the streets because freedom has died?

Catholic Press and the Encyclical

Robert A. Graham

WHAT THE POPE DOES or says is news, even for the secular press. Many a public figure—politician or entertainer—must envy the constant attention lavished on the ordinary doings of the Vatican. Even the Soviets help to keep the Holy Father in the public eye by their occasional denunciations and distortions of motives. And they at least spell his name correctly. Yes, despite occasional lapses and a too-common triviality, the world press does well by the Roman Pontiffs. But it takes an encyclical to bring home the really great services rendered to the Church by the modern press. In all sections of world journalism, the social encyclical *Mater et Magistra* got its fair share of reporting and commentary.

But for the Catholic press in this country the encyclical was an hour of triumph. Within a few days the

millions of readers of the diocesan weeklies had in their hands either the full NC-distributed text, or at least copious extracts, with abundant commentary and background. Few were the Catholic papers that did not publish the full text, at least serially. The *Register* and *Our Sunday Visitor* chains supplied their affiliates with handy pull-out tabloid supplements of the full text. It is easy to believe the claim that no other encyclical received such wide circulation in this country—and probably in any other country, for that matter. It was a far cry from the era when papal encyclicals had to be smuggled out of Mussolini's Italy by young priests (such as the future Cardinal Spellman), or distributed by secret couriers in Nazi Germany. The secular press in modern times shares its freedom with the papacy. But notwithstanding the often quite generous space given to papal statements and viewpoints, the Catholic press showed that its coverage was unique and indis-

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pensable. Despite all the resources of the secular press there is no substitute for the diocesan newspapers in such important matters. If this is true for an encyclical, what shall be said of the services the Catholic press can render during the coming ecumenical council?

After the text, the commentary. Here, too, the Catholic press had its part to play, either by its own editorial opinions or by the contributions of experts. In the first two weeks, to judge from a fairly wide scrutiny of the diocesan papers, most editors contented themselves with a résumé or paraphrase of the encyclical. They warned against partisan interpretations, ax-grinding for personal causes and out-of-context quoting.

Most editors preached the wise counsel of objectivity. Thus the *Catholic Standard* (Washington, D.C.) warned its readers of the perils of selective zeal. "It would be unfortunate," it said, "if the integrity of the encyclical, with its consequent broad interpretations, were to be neglected by quoting only fragments of it." And the *Catholic Free Press* (Worcester) was even more specific: "We have no right . . . to choose and discard, to quibble and disagree. There are those, we know, politicians, industrialists, farmers, unionists, rich and poor, who will pounce on the portion that does the most to solidify their position." The *Catholic Union and Echo* (Buffalo) said something in the same vein when it predicted that "extremists and partisans of various schools of thought will be quick to grab onto one thread and then assume the Pope is saying what they wish he had said."

Wonderful advice. But editors, too, are human. If this counsel were adhered to in all its severity, the Catholic press would become a repository for platitudinous paraphrases. Fortunately, the appearance of the encyclical was, in many instances, like a trumpet call for the more daring editors. They mounted their horses and rode off, it must be said, in all directions.

Some found occasion for a safe descent into non-controversial application by editorializing on that section of the encyclical in which the Pope urged the safeguarding of the law of Sunday rest. The *Telegraph-Register* (Cincinnati) said it was "particularly salutary for Americans," and gravely added that it is "significant that he lists this among the world's critical issues." The editorial in the *New World* (Chicago) also singled out the Sunday issue for special mention, as did several other diocesan papers.

The *Herald-Citizen* (Milwaukee) solved its problem by asking questions without waiting for the answer. Under the title "A Job for You," the editorial of Msgr. F. J. Kennedy opened with this statement: "There's a serious job ahead for Catholics who belong to or damn the John Birch Society, the Cardinal Mindszenty Forum and other like groups. . . ." The editorialist also cited (but without tipping his own hand) these controversial issues that might well be resolved in the light of the encyclical: taxes, social security, foreign aid, relief for the farmers, governmental intervention in business and the United Nations. The writer added the timely advice that it would be "rash for a Catholic to keep on spouting his opinions on subjects treated by

the Pope" without knowing whether his opinions are "sound or heretical."

Other editors ventured a little farther out into deeper water. They raised pointed issues in uncanonical language, such as whether the encyclical is to be judged "liberal" or "conservative," or whether the Pope is now committed to the welfare state. Under an editorial headed "Is Pope John a Comsymp?" the *Providence Visitor* pointed out that the Holy Father is favorable to many things social that have drawn the fire of ultra-conservatives. It joined with a Protestant clergyman in speculating how the encyclical would have been received by the John Birch Society if it had been issued, not by the Pope, but by the Protestants' own National Council of Churches.

IN PITTSBURGH, columnist Fr. Charles Owen Rice disdained pussyfooting. In the *Pittsburgh Catholic* he editorialized in these terms: "American Catholic thought badly needed the encyclical and one hopes that a certain articulate faction on the extreme right will tone down. This faction receives no comfort from 'Mother and Teacher' in the battle to present the Holy Father as favoring restrictions on our American labor unions, and it receives a complete and systematic rout in its ridiculous battle against international co-operation." The outspoken writer seems willing, however, to let some conservatives go along for a ride in the new encyclical if they behave themselves. He concedes that the document "leaves room for a moderate conservative position since it deliberately avoids being a strait jacket."

The *Tablet* (Brooklyn) made some applications of its own in a somewhat different direction. Its editorial accented the Pope's warning to lay apostles to beware of "compromises on religion and morals" when dealing with non-Catholics in social enterprises. It linked this statement with an earlier address of Most Rev. Egidio Vagnozzi, Apostolic Delegate to the United States, concerning the activities of lay Catholic intellectuals. The veteran managing editor of the *Tablet*, Patrick Scanlan, found it necessary to clarify his own position on foreign aid. He acknowledged that some correspondents had asked whether the Pope's support of foreign aid to underdeveloped nations was in conflict with the *Tablet's* somewhat jaundiced view of what it has often referred to as "Operation Rathole." But No, said Mr. Scanlan, the *Tablet* is not against foreign aid at all, but only against waste and other misuses of aid. Concluded the managing editor: "Those who think Pope John or any other religious leader favors this tremendous waste, mismanagement and possible impoverishment of the American people, do a great disservice to the world's great moral leader." The Brooklyn editor is wholly in favor of ratholes in themselves. He objects only to wasteful ratholes.

In short supply, it must be noted with regret, were significant comments on the farm problem. Yet this subject is the most original contribution of the encyclical. Is the Catholic press in America, even in the farm belt,

preoccupied with city-type issues? Is the rural Catholic press part of the "depressed farm sector" described by the Pope?

Communism and its dangers were barely mentioned by Pope John XXIII, outside of his historical review of the earlier encyclicals. Just what significance should be given to this was a question that engaged the attention of some editors, most of whom argued that it stemmed from the encyclical's positive approach. Thus, commentator Fr. John S. Smith, of the *Catholic Messenger* (Davenport), noted that there is "no significant preoccupation with communism of any direct kind." This, he argued, illustrates the fact that the social problems to which the encyclical was directed would exist even if there were no Communist danger. The *Catholic Telegraph-Register* (Cincinnati) expressed a similar line of thought by noting that the encyclical did not "luxuriate in lengthy denunciation of evils like birth control and communism," (although the encyclical's treatment of the population question is anything but brief). The *Catholic Review* (Baltimore) got in a warning against the frequently crackpot anti-Communist material now making the rounds when it said that "rather than looking for solutions to social problems in the strange pasture of questionable newsletters, books and pamphlets which flood the market today, Catholics who are concerned with the problem of communism would do well to learn the contents of this document written by Pope John."

By all odds, however, the semantic stumbling block of the encyclical was the Pope's use of the term "socialization." The word is too much like "socialism" to fail to arouse dispute. Is the encyclical *Mater et Magistra* an apologia for the welfare state? The *Michigan Catholic* (Detroit) hastened to stress an essential point: "Socialization and socialism in *Mater et Magistra* are not synonymous terms and let us not make this mistake." The *Catholic Transcript* (Hartford) followed suit. But other weeklies were not so concerned with making distinctions. The *Catholic Star Herald* (Camden) said: "With breath-taking boldness, Pope John XXIII has blessed socialization." The editorial concluded: "Surely, we Catholics must never again be bullied by such fancy phrases as 'creeping socialism,' as though tyranny were around the corner on Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington." Msgr. Robert G. Peters, of the *Peoria Register*, under a column headed, "A Time to Re-examine Labels," wrote this: "If you have carelessly labeled everything short of the most rugged individualism as 'socialism,' you should read carefully the Pope's advice that, under certain circumstances, 'socialization' is moral and beneficial."

The view that the encyclical is a vote for the welfare state was vigorously challenged by the *Wanderer* (St. Paul) which declared editorially: "As for the encyclical giving encouragement to Socialistic or welfare-statist theories and tendencies, this is simply not so. Personal initiative, not state aid, is its central theme." The editorial went on: "Basically, the encyclical simply reaffirms and, in fact, underscores the Church's traditional insistence on the organic reconstruction of society, via

the 'grass roots,' or subsidiary local institutions, beginning with the family and local communities." The *Wanderer* dissociated itself from extremists who "try to dismiss it out of hand either as a 'venture in triviality' or as a 'specific Church endorsement of large-scale government programs of the type which the United States has carried on since World War II'."

Presumably, the *Wanderer's* mention of the "venture in triviality" is an allusion to the reaction of the *National Review*, edited by William F. Buckley Jr., for which it usually has much sympathy. But Mr. Buckley's review had faint praise for the encyclical, of which it said: "Whatever its final effect, it must strike many as a venture in triviality coming at this particular time in history." The editorialist was dissatisfied with the "scant mention" of the Communist danger and thought that what it called the "sprawling document" gave insufficient recognition to the successes of the free economies of Japan, West Germany and the United States. The *Oklahoma Courier* (Oklahoma City) commented: "We do admire Mr. Buckley and his co-workers for intellectual integrity or rather guts. *Mater et Magistra* runs contrary to their thinking and they don't hesitate to say so." The *National Review*, though not a Catholic organ, has a large Catholic readership.

If there is a "Catholic line" on the new encyclical, there was no evidence of it in the U.S. Catholic press during the first few weeks after its appearance. The varied and even contradictory interpretations bear witness, rather, to the wide perspective for study and reflection offered by *Mater et Magistra*. Human nature will, no doubt, continue to assert itself, and few editors will be able to resist the temptation to cite chosen passages to the exclusion of others. But when that happens, other editors can be counted on to redress the balance.

ECLIPSE

You do not have to turn your back
On the sun
Or close your eyes
To the sun.

Lay your finger horizontally
Before your eyes
And eclipse the sun.

The Cross is a man
Before God's eyes,
Eclipsing the earth God could not help
But look on,

Winding down its corkscrew destiny;
And does look on
Through the man
Whom we cannot bear to look on
Save at the risk
Of finding ourselves
All dressed up in freedom
And somewhere to go.

WILLIAM ELLIOTT

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Is Government Doing Too Much?

Benjamin L. Masse

AS IS THE CASE everywhere today, in the developed as well as the developing countries, so, too, in the United States government plays a large and expanding part in the lives of the people.

According to Tax Foundation, Inc., all government units in the country—Federal, State and local—spent \$2,750 per family in the fiscal year 1960. They employed more people than are needed to man the nation's farms. On an annual per-person basis, they spent \$222 on civilian payrolls alone, up from \$99 in 1947. They sharpened the tax bite to the point where Americans on the average had to work 6 of the 22 working days in a month just to satisfy the Bureau of Internal Revenue. (They have to work only four days for their food and tobacco, only one day for their medical care.) And notwithstanding vastly expanded tax revenues, the public debt per capita has soared to \$2,010—an increase of \$1,527 in the 20 years since 1940.

For those who aren't satisfied with these fiscal tidbits and like their statistics straight, Table I below, taken from the U.S. Department of Commerce's *Survey of Current Business* for February, 1961, shows government spending, in billions of dollars, for the calendar year 1960.

Table I. Government Expenditures, 1960

Federal Government expenditures	\$92.3
Purchases of goods and services	52.4
Transfer payments	23.9
To persons	22.3
Foreign (net)	1.6
Grants-in-aid to State and local governments	6.1
Net interest paid	7.2
Subsidies less current surplus of government enterprises	2.6
State and local government expenditures	50.9
Purchases of goods and services	47.3
Transfer payments to persons	4.9
Net interest paid8
Less current surplus of government enterprises	2.1

If we remove the duplication involved in counting grants-in-aid twice, once when they are given by the Federal Government and once when they are spent by State and local governments, we end up with a grand total of \$137.1 billion. By any reckoning, that is a lot of government spending. It necessarily involves a lot of government taxing, as appears from Table II, which shows government receipts, in billions of dollars.

Table II. Government receipts, 1960

Federal Government receipts	\$95.3
Personal tax and nontax receipts	43.3
Corporate profits tax accruals	20.8
Indirect business tax and nontax accruals	13.3
Contributions for social insurance	17.4
State and local government receipts	48.0
Personal tax and nontax receipts	6.7
Corporate profits tax accruals	1.2
Indirect business tax and nontax accruals	31.3
Contributions for social insurance	2.8
Federal grants-in-aid	6.1

So much then for the fiscal facts. Now the question we must ask ourselves is this: is government in the United States too big? Is it spending too much, taxing too much, throwing its weight around too much?

The answer to those questions depends in the first instance on one's concept of the role of the state in society. The 19th-century individualist, together with his dwindling progeny in our century, must necessarily answer the questions in the affirmative, just as totalitarians of all stripes and colors, whether of the left or right, are constrained to answer it in the negative. For the upholders of the laissez-faire state, as for the defenders of the collectivist state, there is no elbow room for debate. For them the question of government bigness is easy.

It is difficult only for those who, with Pope Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum* and Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*, reject both the 19th-century liberal state and the 20th-century totalitarian state. It is a difficult question, that is to say, for all loyal and informed Catholics (and for social-minded Jews and Protestants as well). They cannot answer simply Yes or No. They can say only: "It depends."

Depends on what? It depends on the need for government action.

In the Catholic scheme of things, which in political and socio-economic matters is mostly derived from the divine natural law, the state has the supreme responsibility for the temporal well-being of society. It must see to it that the institutions of society are such as promote prosperity and progress. It must intervene to protect the weak and the disadvantaged. Where important goals are involved, such as fair markets or decent housing, it must supplement the inadequate efforts of individuals and private groups. But in doing all these things, the state must respect the dignity and

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independence of individuals, families and those lesser societies which men instinctively organize and join.

In other words, the state has a positive, but not an unlimited role in society.

How can we tell whether or not a government has overstepped the bounds? How can we tell whether or not it is too big? Is there some yardstick by which we can measure government ambitions and activities?

There is such a measuring rod, but it doesn't give answers with mathematical precision. All that it does is offer the basis for a prudential judgment. It can tell us with certainty, for instance, that government has a duty to have a housing program. It cannot tell us with equal certainty whether or not a particular government housing program is too expansive, or not expansive enough.

POPE LEO XIII used this principle in *Rerum Novarum* when he vindicated the right of the state to prevent, or root out, what we might today call unfair and antisocial labor practices, especially with regard to the employment of women and children. After defending the authority of the state, he immediately added that its power should, of course, be used "within certain limits." And what were these limits? The law, he said, "ought not undertake more, nor ought it go farther, than the remedy of evils or the removal of danger requires."

Pope Leo was here applying that "principle of subsidiary function" which Pope Pius XI emphasized so strongly in *Quadragesimo Anno*, and which Pope John recently reaffirmed in *Mater et Magistra*. Pope Pius explained the principle in this way:

Just as it is gravely wrong to take from individuals what they can accomplish by their own initiative and industry and give it to the community, so also it is an injustice and at the same time a grave evil and disturbance of right order to assign to a greater association what lesser and subordinate organizations can do.

From the very statement of this principle, as well as from Pope Leo's qualifying words above, it will be evident that we are not dealing here with a device that automatically regulates the relationship between a government and its citizens. Of course, the state should not do more than is necessary to correct some social evil, but how in the concrete are we to judge that the state should go precisely so far and no farther, or that, indeed, it has gone far enough? How are we to decide that individuals can or cannot accomplish some project through their own initiative, or that a smaller organization can do a job which a greater organization proposes to undertake?

There can be no absolutely certain, no mathematical-ly precise answers to those questions. All of them involve practical judgments based on the circumstances of the case; and it is notorious that equally knowledgeable people, confronted with political decisions of this kind, often come to divergent conclusions. As Cardinal Léger, Archbishop of Montreal, told the 1960 meeting

of the Canadian Social Week: "Between the clear principles of morality and their final application, too many judgments of facts, too many technical considerations intervene to permit one always to arrive at certitude."

So it is with the issue of government bigness in the United States today. Even among Catholics familiar with the principle of subsidiary function, there is a difference of opinion on this question.

For whatever it's worth, it is this writer's opinion that our big governmental apparatus can be amply justified on moral grounds. This does not mean that a strong case cannot be made—on the grounds of efficiency or honesty—against the performance of this or that government function, or the conduct of this or that program. It means only that on the basis of subsidiarity a persuasive argument can be mounted for government bigness as we know it today.

It will not be possible here to do more than sketch that case in broad outline. Since detailed budgetary reports for the calendar year 1960 are not available as this is being written, I shall use 1959 figures. These show total government spending of \$131.7 billion.

Table III below, which is based on U.S. Department of Commerce figures, lists government spending by function. It includes State and local as well as Federal spending, in billions of dollars.

Table III. Spending by Function, 1959

National security and world peace	\$49.3
Education	16.6
Net interest payments	7.0
Veterans' services and benefits	5.6
Transportation	9.5
Agriculture	3.5
Natural resources	3.0
Social security and welfare	18.3
Civilian safety (police, fire, etc.)	3.3
General government (except interest paid)	8.0
Public health, hospitals, sanitation	5.7
Other functions, including postal services	1.9

Using the subsidiarity yardstick, we can quickly eliminate a number of government programs as being beyond controversy. Everybody concedes that it's the government's job to assure the nation's defense, deal with foreign countries, preserve domestic law and order, provide or oversee public transportation (highways, bridges, harbors, airports, etc.), safeguard the public health, preserve natural resources, pay interest on the public debt, assist war veterans, conduct a postal service and administer the business of government (courts, legislatures, regulatory agencies and all the rest of it).

The bill for these activities comes to \$92 billion—but but \$39.7 billion of total government expenditures.

One can argue about the amount of spending for these activities—including even the interest rate on the public debt—but scarcely about the propriety of the spending itself.

The remaining government programs—chiefly education, agriculture, social security and welfare are more controversial.

Admittedly, agriculture is a special problem, but it happens to be a special problem all over the world today. The reason is that no government, concerned as it must be with the security of the nation and the well-being of a large segment of its population, can permit the law of supply and demand to operate in agriculture without restrictions. Just as our government feels obliged to regulate and subsidize certain types of business—such as sea and air transportation—so it feels bound to subsidize and regulate agriculture. In this endeavor, I think government is justified.

The other disputable programs fall into the so-called "welfare state" category. The largest expenditure in this field is for education, with State and local government accounting for almost all the outlays. Since many Catholic authorities are presently arguing that if the Federal Government steps up its modest contributions to education—\$600 million in 1959—private schools should share in the benefits, it would appear that they do not question, on grounds of subsidiarity, public spending in this field. Wherever state aid to education is controverted in the world today, it is the manner and kind of aid that are in question, not the aid itself.

The same observation can be made about government efforts to cope with the hazards of involuntary unemployment, disability, sickness and old age. It is also relevant to the government's interest in wages, hours and working conditions, in housing, slum clearance and urban renewal. Arguments go on endlessly about the size and administration of these "welfare" programs, but it is remarkable how few of those who speak scornfully of "cradle-to-grave security" and ex-coriate the welfare state are making much of a fight to abolish them.

The absence of an effective opposition to big government can be explained, of course, on grounds that are highly insulting to the American people. "No one shoots Santa Claus," a famous political leader once cynically observed; and since candidates for public office are very sensitive to this truth, they are constrained not to oppose what the people want.

Without underestimating the force of blind, irresponsible self-interest in human affairs, I would prefer to seek elsewhere for the meaning of big government today. I would seek it in certain developments over the past half-century which have had a profound influence on American life. One was the collapse of the free market as the sole mechanism regulating the economy. Another was the growing sense of insecurity in an increasingly industrial and urban society. A third was the awakening of a sense of social justice and a more

delicate feeling for violations of human rights. All these developments came to a dramatic climax during the prolonged depression of the 1930's. They resulted in the peaceful revolution known as the New Deal.

Using the yardstick of subsidiarity, we can readily agree, I think, that the reform legislation of the 1930's was a justified intervention of government in the private sector of the economy. Both Leo XIII and Pius XI rejected the liberal proposition that competition could be, or should be, the sole regulatory factor in economic affairs; and the way American society is constituted there was, once the free market collapsed, no other force except the state that was able to substitute for the failures of competition and bring some order and stability to the market place. The intervention was the more acceptable in that it aimed, not at displacing private enterprise, but at buttressing it.

Similarly, it is difficult to rule out, on the basis of subsidiarity, the various government programs that responded to one of the most pressing needs of modern times—the need for individual and family security.

Not the least of the anomalies of contemporary industrialism is the presence simultaneously of a relatively high standard of living and a gnawing sense of insecurity. In simpler times the basis of security had been ownership of income-producing property, most often in the form of land; and around this ownership the family was able to organize its own system of social security. With the disappearance of widely held income-producing property, the vast majority of people became totally dependent on a wage or salary—and *this wage or salary could be, and too often was, cut off with no warning whatsoever.*

It is instructive to note how much of the welfare activity of government is a reaction—a necessary reaction—to this single development in contemporary society.

Ideally, one might wish that affairs were otherwise. The burden of the Church's social teaching certainly favors widely distributed ownership of income-producing property as the basis for individual and family security. The hard fact is, however, that modern society did not evolve in this way, and that some other means had to be found to provide that minimum of security without which life becomes needlessly harsh and even intolerable. The American Bishops recognized this more than forty years ago. Their "Program of Social Reconstruction," issued February 12, 1919, by the Administrative Committee of the National Catholic War Council, foreshadowed in a remarkable way the "welfare state" as we know it today. Most of that program is now the law of the land.

Surely, the fear of statism is a healthy one in any society and ought not be lightly dismissed. It may help, however, to keep this fear within rational bounds and prevent it from becoming a recklessly inhibiting force in the nation's affairs if in viewing big government we strive to maintain some perspective. If we are able to do this, we shall recognize that the very bigness of government is the best guarantee we have of our continued independence as a nation and the preservation



of freedom around the globe. If the United States stopped spending all the billions now going to national defense and foreign affairs, government would shrink by considerably more than a third. We could then moderate our fear of statism, but that fear would be immediately replaced by a larger and more terrifying fear—the fear of invasion and conquest. Does anybody really want that?

It is also helpful to consider what a large part of government spending consists merely in transfer payments to individuals. In 1960 this kind of spending—in which government functions like an insurance company, collecting premiums and paying out benefits—amounted to \$27.2 billion. Payments under Unemployment Compensation and Old Age, Survivors and Disability Insurance alone came to nearly \$14 billion.

Apart from the fact that government programs of social insurance have some effect on the allocation of national resources—which means that individual and business spending on goods and services probably follows a somewhat different pattern than would be the case if these programs did not exist—they involve no interference with the freedom of individuals and families. No bureaucrat comes nosing around to find out

how a jobless worker spends his UC check, or what retired people do with their OASI benefits. Since in the absence of social insurance many families and individuals would have to be taken care of through public assistance—which necessarily requires considerable government supervision—it can be argued that social security has enlarged rather than restricted the area of personal freedom.

We shall perforce live with big government for a long time to come. To indulge in lamentations over this prospect, with much shedding of tears over a vanished past, is a waste of time. The realistic task before us is a double one—to see that government functions honestly and efficiently, and to foster all the tendencies in our society pointing toward a greater assumption of responsibility by individuals and private groups. There are hopeful signs that the same terrible Cold War demands which have caused the ballooning of government are forcing labor unions, trade associations and other occupational groups to think in more public-minded terms than they have ever done before in peace time. This way, which can be made easier by a sincere and profound spiritual renewal, lies our hope of salvation.

The Lid Life of Herbert Matthews

Thurston N. Davis

CAN THERE POSSIBLY be a sort of Matthews' Law—a rule-of-thumb by which to tell whether Herbert L. Matthews did or didn't write a given editorial in the *New York Times*? The question is worth asking because, within a wide circle of *Times* readers, no name in recent newspaperdom creates more controversial reactions. Rightly or wrongly, many believe, and have for years believed, that certain of the self-confessed biases and strongly personal evaluations of Mr. Matthews' signed stories represent a point of view several degrees at variance with the general editorial positions of his newspaper. This viewpoint, they argue, must inevitably be reflected in the unsigned editorials he contributes. Hence, if such a thing as Matthews' Law exists, thousands of readers will find it a useful daily tool.

Herbert Matthews, for almost forty years a news-gatherer and news-analyst for the *Times*, has since 1949 been a member of the editorial staff of that esteemed newspaper. For a generation, under the Matthews by-line, the public has been accustomed to read his interpretations of Franco Spain. In fact, at the *Times*, all Iberian and Latin American affairs come under Herbert Matthews' eye in one way or another. Moreover, until recently, Mr. Matthews was the *Times*' "man in Ha-

vana"—the specialist assigned to watch the progress of the Cuban revolution of Fidel Castro. He no longer writes on this topic under his own by-line.

Editorials in the *New York Times* carry great weight in many quarters. Because they are unsigned, the full force and authority of the newspaper lie behind them. Since Mr. Matthews is a member of the *Times* editorial staff, it may reasonably be assumed that at least certain editorials on Spain, Portugal, Cuba and other Latin American countries come from his typewriter.

One's interest in trying to detect which are, and which are not, the editorials of Herbert Matthews is whetted by his own analysis of what it means to be a journalist. He expounds his theory in his recent enlarged edition of *The Yoke and the Arrows* (Braziller, 1961):

I would never dream of hiding my own bias or denying it. I did not do so during the Spanish Civil War and I do not do so now. In my credo, as I said before, the journalist is not one who must be free of bias or opinions or feelings. Such a newspaperman would be a pitiful specimen, to be despised rather than admired. (p. 225)

Moreover, in a foreword to the same edition of that book, dated February, 1961, Mr. Matthews discusses his relation as editorialist to the newspaper he works for:

FR. DAVIS, S.J., is Editor-in-Chief of this Review.

The editorial policy of the New York *Times* toward the Franco regime is blamed on me. (As a matter of fact, editorials in the *Times* are expressions of the newspaper's opinions and when it comes to Franco Spain it does not matter who writes the editorials.)

One wonders whether the same two sentences could have been written with "Castro Cuba" substituted for the references to Spain and Franco. But this point need not be belabored here.

The modest purpose of this article is to suggest how certain of Mr. Matthews' editorials in the New York *Times* can be identified.

One discovers, without a taxing amount of research, a sort of metaphorical thumb-print on the unsigned editorials contributed by Herbert Matthews.

Examine this recent specimen. It is from the July 18, 1961 editorial page of the *Times*—a piece of indubitably genuine Matthews copy on "The Spanish Civil War." Commemorating the 25th anniversary of the start of that war on July 18, 1936, the *Times* said:

It was a bitter, bloody, heroic struggle whose greatest tragedy was that it left Spain unchanged. In fact, it turned Spain backward to its autocratic, hierarchical, feudal system of army, Church, land-owning, banking and industrial elite. The same Gen. Franco Bahamonde *sits on the lid*, waiting for the end which must come to him, but which will be a beginning for Spain. . . . (*Emphasis added here and below*)

Earlier this year, when Premier Salazar's Portugal began to make front-page headlines, a *Times* editorial ("Portugal's 'Wind of Change'") said in part on May 4:

The result is that a growing opposition is *pressing against the lid* with which he [Salazar] would keep it down.

Again, an excerpt from another unsigned editorial bears the tell-tale trace. Dated March 14, 1958, it discussed the state of affairs in the Cuba of General Batista:

Now he [Batista] has *clamped the lid down again* and reimposed censorship of the press and radio, but he cannot turn the clock back.

The thumb-print on a Matthews editorial checks perfectly with that found in Mr. Matthews' signed articles. Here, from the Sunday *Times* of May 6, 1956, is a snippet of a lengthy discussion of Batista's regime in Cuba:

The uprising last week was symptomatic of the ferment *under the lid* that General Batista sits upon. One of these days *the lid may blow off*—but not now.

Again, in the first installment of an extended signed report on Spain, in the *Times* for Sept. 17, 1956, we read:

On top all is tranquil because there is nothing to be seen but *the Generalissimo sitting on a lid*.

Five "lids," however, do not make a law. Can we get this project securely out of the realm of hypothesis and assure ourselves that there really is such a thing as Matthews' Law? I believe we can.

Turn once again to *The Yoke and the Arrows*. The

passages cited below can all be found, identically the same, in both the first (1957) and revised (1961) editions, although page references are supplied only for the revised version.

Early in this book, discussing the centuries of Spanish history that lie behind the regime of General Franco, Mr. Matthews writes:

Each time the people rose or freedom asserted itself, one or other of them, or all together ["the kings, the aristocrats, the generals and the priests"] would *clamp the lid back again*. . . . That is what happened in 1939 when a *caudillo*—Generalissimo Francisco Franco—*slammed another lid down and sat on it*. (p. 25)

Then, within six pages:

Francisco *slammed a lid down and sat on it*. (p. 31)

Again:

The irony of it! Here we all are in the year 1961 with Italian fascism a sordid memory and with Bolshevism triumphant, while a *Caudillo still sits uneasily on a lid* in Spain. (p. 54)

Some pages later:

What Franco had to do was to *clamp a lid down—or a number of lids—and sit on them*. (pp. 64-65)

Perhaps the finest specimen of all is:

In those years after the Civil War, Franco had far more to do than just to *sit on the lid of a Spain* which, in any event, was prostrate and licking its wounds. (p. 67)

Then, in rapid succession, we run across two more:

If one had to seek a single reason why, twenty-two years after the Spanish Civil War, *the same Caudillo is sitting on the same lid* in Spain, this is it. (pp. 98-99)

and

On top, all is tranquil because, as stated before, there is nothing to be seen but *the Generalissimo sitting on a lid*. (p. 99)

Farther along:

There is *another lid on which Franco sits*. (p. 105)

Then, too:

A student of Spain can only be amazed and heart-sick at seeing generation after generation of the Spanish clergy repeating the same mistakes and building up the same forces of hatred that take such a terrible toll when *the lid blows off*. As of today, it is *Francisco who sits on that lid*. . . . (p. 169)

Finally, two more:

Meanwhile *Generalissimo Francisco Franco sits on the lid*—this one, too. (p. 190)

and

Is it any wonder that we who write about Spain refer again and again to *the "lid" on which the Caudillo sits*? (p. 200)

A student for the doctorate in journalism might some day—by wearisome research through thirty or more years of the *Times* on microfilm—push Matthews' Law on to its fully scientific conclusions. If he chooses this topic for his dissertation, he will doubtless find his best material in Mr. Matthews' pre-1961 period.

Interview With Congressman Delaney

THE HON. JAMES J. DELANEY represents New York's Seventh Congressional District. A veteran member of the House of Representatives since 1944, Mr. Delaney has become an expert on food and drug legislation. But he made national headlines with a single vote on a very different subject in the House Rules Committee on July 18.

On that day the committee voted, 8-7, to table the Administration's Federal-aid-to-education bill and effectively killed the bill for the present session of Congress. Mr. Delaney, normally an Administration supporter, in this instance changed sides and voted against the Administration's bill. In the following interview he explains his position on Federal aid to education to one of our associate editors, FRANCIS CANAVAN.

* * *

Q. *Why did you vote against the Administration's aid-to-education bill in the House Rules Committee?*

A. I voted against the bill principally because it was a discriminatory bill. I don't believe in a single, monolithic system of education. If and when the Federal Government is to contribute to the support of education, it should take our entire system of education as it exists today and not favor one kind of school as against another.

Q. *You think, then, that if Federal aid is given, it should not be given only to public schools?*

A. Yes, because that would be highly discriminatory. If we carried the discrimination to the point which I am afraid it would eventually reach, I think we would be constitutionalizing irreligion.

I have particularly in mind the fact that church-related and other private schools depend today on other teachers than nuns and brothers and priests. These schools have to go out and compete with the public schools on the open market for teachers. And frankly, I can't see how, under present economic conditions, we can expect anyone in the teaching profession to teach in anything but a public school.

Let me point out here that, under the Administration's aid-to-education bill, public school teachers would be given a grant from the Federal Government in addition to their current salary. That would be for public school teachers only.

Besides, in the National Defense Education Act

(NDEA) there are two discriminatory features. One is the stipend. The Federal Government pays for certain summer courses for all teachers. But in addition, the Government grants a stipend of up to \$300 a month to those who teach in public schools.

Another discriminatory feature is the forgiveness clause. College students are permitted to borrow up to \$5,000. In the event that they teach in public schools, 50 per cent of the loan is "forgiven" them—they don't have to pay it back. This benefit is not available to those who teach in private or parochial schools.

Q. *You have made some objections to the formula in the Administration's bill for allocating Federal aid funds to the States. Would you explain what the formula is and why you object to it?*

A. Under the formula every child is included, whether he attends a public, a private or a parochial school. That is to say, a State would get Federal funds in proportion to its total number of school children. But the funds would be distributed only to public schools. It is what we call the "count-in, count-out" policy. Under this bill, the Federal Government would say to the State: "We will give you a certain number of dollars for each student, regardless of what school he attends. But no one gets any of these dollars except the public school." That is discriminatory.

Q. *You have also been quoted as favoring a policy of giving Federal aid directly to the students attending nonpublic schools, on the model of the G.I. Bill of Rights, rather than giving aid to the nonpublic schools as such. Why do you advocate this policy?*

A. I would say that the problem of aid to education must be related to the problem of democratic survival. It must be hinged on the idea that if we are to survive as a free people, we must develop individuals who are creative, each according to his own God-given endowments.

Now, one of the most successful methods of aiding education that we have ever used was the G.I. Bill of Rights, which allowed the student to select his school. Provided that the school met the necessary requirements, the student could choose the school he wanted to attend and the Government would pay his tuition.

That is a fair and equitable way to give aid to education. If and when the Federal Government is to aid education, the individual should be the object of its concern. The payments should be made to the parents, in the case of young children, and the Government should give them the right to decide which school they want their children to attend.

Q. *You are aware that several members of the Catholic hierarchy have come out in favor of loans or even grants to parochial schools. They have not mentioned this other proposition of yours, modeled on the G.I. Bill of Rights. Do you feel that by taking this position you are opposing the hierarchy?*

A. I do not. This country has room for many diverse opinions. That is what has made a great success of our country. I did not consult any member of the hierarchy before making up my mind how to vote in the Rules Committee, nor did any member of the hierarchy attempt to get in touch with me. I made up my own mind.

I know that a number of bishops have expressed their views on Federal aid to education. That was their right. But I feel that the most equitable way of aiding education is to give grants directly to the students or their parents.

Q. *Would not a program of Federal aid which benefited the parochial schools either directly or indirectly be a violation of the principle of separation of Church and State?*

A. Not at all. Insofar as religion is taught—and that is only a minor part of a parochial school education—I don't believe that grants should be made for the teaching of religion. But the other subjects are the same, whether they are taught in a public or a parochial school.

Teachers in public and private schools have the same training and background. And they all do the same thing: they teach children.

A teacher gives an education and a child gets an education in any recognized school in this country. We should help them all if we help any. We're interested in education, and I don't believe that the public school system alone is the answer to our educational problems.

I certainly believe in the separation of Church and State. But I am afraid we have made a shibboleth of it and have forgotten that we also want to keep the state from controlling all education. People have to realize that private education is at a crossroads in this country. If Federal aid for only public schools goes through, the private and parochial schools will eventually be forced to go out of business.

Q. *Are you afraid that there is some danger of a monolithic Federal school system in this country?*

A. At the present time, I do not think that such a danger is apparent. But if we follow the Federal aid policies that are being advocated, we may come to that.

There is a booklet issued recently by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, Office of Education, entitled *A Federal Education Agency for the Future*. If you look at the eleven future programs which are suggested in detail in this booklet, they all have merit. But add them all together and the result is Federal dominance over education and eventually Federal control.

Q. *But don't you think it would be more democratic for the Federal Government to encourage people to send their children to public schools by aiding only public schools?*

A. I do not. I believe that this country was founded on many systems of education. When the Federal Government decides to come into the picture and help education, I don't think it should favor any one system. The Government should take the educational systems of the country as they are and help them all.

Q. *What kind of aid-to-education legislation would you be willing to support in the present session of Congress?*

A. Right now I'd take the impacted areas bill, although I think there should be some change in the administration of the Federal aid given to these areas. I'd take the higher education bill, which is fair in its terms. The NDEA has some discriminatory features, as I have explained, but by two or three amendments we could probably correct it.

Q. *Do you expect another attempt at a major aid-to-education bill in next year's session of Congress or will it be put off until after the 1962 Congressional elections?*

A. It would be my belief that they would attempt to pass an education bill again next year.

Q. *What do you think Catholic citizens have a right to ask for in the way of aid to education?*

A. Equal treatment. We need to point out to the American people that there is discrimination here, that the Federal aid-to-education bill is not fair, that it favors one system of education as against another. If the people understood the matter, I think an overwhelming majority would be in favor of our position.

After we voted to table the bill, when asked by the press, I said: "Well, this will help to clear the atmosphere and give us the chance to bring the merits of our position before the public." That is what we must do: bring our case before the public.



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THE NEWMAN PRESS

BOOKS

The Relative and Practical in Law

LIFE, DEATH AND THE LAW

By Norman St. John-Stevas. Indiana U. Press. 375p. \$5.95

Extremists on the relations between morality and law insist upon either their indissoluble marriage or their absolute divorce. For such immoderates, the author's chapter on "Law and Morals" should be a corrective. Surely morals have a bearing upon law, but no balanced person would suggest that every moral evil should be either forbidden by law or punished by a penal sanction. The crucial question to resolve is the precise amount of bearing that morals should have upon law in a pluralistic society, where ethical systems are so diverse.

St. John-Stevas states calmly that "good theology is no guarantee of good government" and that in both the United States and England "social policies with moral implications are not laid down by fiat from above but are evolved gradually through the rational reflections of free men."

The working rule which he evolves finally is that the majority should abstain from obliging the minority to follow any practice which they condemn as immoral, provided abstention does not injure the common good. Granted the rule, problems still arise regarding the common good. In a conflict, who should determine what constitutes the common good? When do certain private acts have consequences in the social order?

This distinguished British legal authority and political correspondent of the *Economist* suggests that Christian efforts to implement law should terminate when the moral judgment expressed by the law no longer has any correspondence with the general view of society. Moral philosophers might easily agree with the author that "public enforcement of religious standards cannot extend beyond the area of community agreement," but they would urge against him that law has an educational as well as a commanding role. What does the Supreme Court do in the face of immoral racial discrimination, and what do Christians do when they consider the erosion of moral standards? The unanswered questions are the most difficult, but it is clear that law

can and does educate where there is little community acceptance.

The chapter on "Law and Morals" is fundamental to the six areas affecting life and death: the control of conception, artificial human insemination, human sterilization, homosexuality, suicide and euthanasia. St. John-Stevas consistently tries to walk the middle road between positivism and relativism on one side, and absolute natural law on the other. He shows how St. Thomas's theory of positive law appreciates the role of the contingent, the relative and the practical. He recommends, too, that in the determination of prudential decisions his followers should not be indifferent to the empirical data of modern sociologists.

Some readers may be critical of his nonhistorical treatment of the "thesis-hypothesis theory" of Church-State relations, but his moderation and objectivity are evident throughout. The questions he raises will stimulate students of law and ethics for many hours.

The book jacket describes the author as a "liberal Roman Catholic." If exception be taken to this, it should be emphasized that this attitude has not been articulated enough in discussions on law and morality.

THOMAS A. WASSMER, S.J.

Saint and Doctor

ROBERT BELLARMINE

By James Brodrick, S.J. Newman. 430p. \$5.75

Some 33 years after the publication of his two-volume study of St. Robert Bellarmine, Fr. James Brodrick, the well-known English historian, has cut down and revised considerably the biography. The result is this interesting work, which should serve to introduce to many the life, mind and example of this famed 16th-century ecclesiastic.

Fr. Brodrick has made two major revisions in this volume: one is a rewriting of his chapter on the dispute between the Jesuits and the Dominicans on the nature of grace; the other is a re-evaluation of Bellarmine vis-à-vis Galileo.

The author notes in his introduction that he had studied the works of Galileo.

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leo when preparing his earlier work, "but the labour did not cure my romantic determination to justify Roberto even in the esoteric realms of physical science where I see now rather ruefully that he possessed no competence whatever."

As a result of the re-evaluation, the chapter on Galileo is probably the best-written one in the book. Because it has been redone as a whole, it has a unity which is sometime lacking in some of the other chapters which deal with more than one subject.



On the disputed questions of grace, Fr. Brodrick notes that Pope Paul V said "he would decide the issue at an opportune time." However, neither he nor his successors have found that time!

For the ordinary reader, this work will provide an excellent view of the Church in the 16th century. St. Robert, who was regarded by many as a saint within his own lifetime, set an example of pious and detached living in a world too concerned with material matters.

Although a Cardinal, he lived frugally and endeavored to keep as close as possible to the rule of the Society of Jesus to which he belonged.

Fr. Brodrick's new efforts are well-justified. He has made a significant contribution to the small but growing library of books about the saints which are historically sound, intelligently written and are productive of thought.

MAURICE ADELMAN JR.

Scotland Revisited

THE DEVIL CAME ON SUNDAY
By Oswald Wynd. Doubleday. 335p. \$4.50

Every now and then some author poises himself above an unwary community and spares us nothing of the frustration, greed, ignorance, stupidity and lust which activate its respectable members. This time the scene is Kilrudderie, a small Scottish burgh, carefully described by a Scot born in Japan, educated in America and now turning for his sev-

enth novel to Scotland, where he has lived since the war.

We know what to expect. The ruthless son of the prosperous builder is rising in the world, the Fairway-Campbells are falling, and around them are the young couple living on hire-purchase, the acid spinster, the cheerful bad girl, the gloomy bad girl, the honest but ineffectual minister unhappy about it all. The theme is "today fighting yesterday," but both are thin in terms of character. Jock Innis's American business methods wreak their limited havoc with little tension and we watch in detachment while some individuals salvage their happiness, others leave, or die, or prepare to die. Our sympathies are not strongly involved.

More interesting is the social observation. The author's ear is not quite attuned to all the Scottish voices, but he has an eye for middle-class detail. Writing about a town and a firm of builders, he shows through buildings and furniture a pattern of changing values, sober stone yielding to prefabricated bungalows. He knows exactly where the women buy their clothes and what drinks the men choose. The backgrounds are more alive than the people—drafty Rosemount with dark oil paintings of Highland cattle, the Innis office all poured concrete and steel and Swed-

ish furniture, the flashy cocktail bar in the hotel, Miss Beale's plush rocking chair and her family memorial in the graveyard, the Blanes' L-shaped living room furnished out of a woman's magazine. We attend a funeral and a wedding and a meeting of the County Council. These things are authentic and vivid.

The title of the book is unfortunate. It suggests something far more explosive than we are given—especially remembering what concentrated venom Scottish novelists like George Douglas and Lewis Grassie Gibbon brought to much the same theme years ago.

ISLAY MURRAY DONALDSON

MARRIED TO TOLSTOY

By Cynthia Asquith. Houghton Mifflin. 288p. \$5

At the age of 18 Sofya Andreevna Behrs became the wife of the world's greatest novelist, Count Leo Tolstoy. For almost half a century she dwelt in his house, cared for his family, supervised his diet, prepared his works for publication, entertained his friends and followers and loved him. But what was it really like to be married to this humble, proud, tortured, contradictory, unhappily hypocritical genius who, by his wonderful words and strangely holy spirit, turned the eyes of the world on

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KING AND CHURCH

by W. Eugene Shiels, S.J.

Shortly before America was discovered, the kings of Spain received an unusual grant from Rome. It was the royal patronage of the Church, the right to administer all religious affairs in Granada. The grant was soon extended to the Indies. This patronage produced excellent results in the establishment of religion overseas and in building and cementing the structure of empire. It deserved to be called "the most precious pearl in the royal diadem."

But the grant created an unnatural situation that led in time to a servitude of the Church to the State. Taken altogether it developed into a magnificent illusion, a Church subservient to a Crown that finally perverted the paternal function. History never gave clearer, more cogent warning against improper ties between religion and civil government.

The book aims primarily to present in full the documents that are basic to a study of the patronage, and in this to make clear just what was its origin and operation. These texts are woven into a narrative that spans the three centuries of the patronage.

W. Eugene Shiels, S.J., began his studies of the Spanish empire under Professor Herbert E. Bolton at the University of California, where he received his doctorate in 1933. Since then he has been teaching and writing in the same field. He is professor of history and chairman of the department at Xavier University, Cincinnati. He is an active member of the historical associations and an associate editor of *Mid-America*.

LOYOLA UNIVERSITY PRESS

Chicago 13

his homestead, his family and his wife?

This question Lady Cynthia Asquith has answered in her intimately written biography of Countess Tolstoy. She is sympathetic to this wife and mother who, for the sake of her family, was forced at times to oppose her husband's sincerest wishes. Nevertheless, the author presents a rounded and unprejudiced view of the many complicated incidents which eventually brought world disapproval on a woman whose spirit of life and love certainly equalled that of her renowned husband.

No two lives have, perhaps, been so documented as those of the Tolstoys. Their incessant and often unfortunate habit of keeping diaries (They read each other's) resulted in a wealth of material for future biographers. The children, too, kept biographies and later wrote books about their parents. Lady Asquith has scanned much of this material (now available in English) with the eye of an accomplished biographer who can read between the lines as well as along them. She has produced a memorable book, well written, filled with quotations of her subject's own words, and tempered by a critical judgment rare in so many works on these controversial figures.

What more can be said about the biography than that in these chapters, as in no other work, Countess Tolstoy comes to life with all her joys and sorrows, with all her faults and virtues, with all her love for the man of her life—her husband, Leo Tolstoy.

RICHARD F. GUSTAFSON

The Hand of War

I Am Lazarus, by Sven Berlin (Norton. 209p. \$3.95).

This is the story of the author's part in the War from D-Day plus 10 to November 20. It is a mature treatment of adult experience with frank language and sardonic realism. After the blood-letting catharsis and sickening disillusionment of war, he achieves a kind of resigned adjustment and returns home, a Lazarus come back from the dead.

It Always Rains in Rome, by John F. Leeming (Farrar, Straus. 192p. \$3.95).

Parts of this novel, set in the little Tuscan town of Fontana d'Amore at the end of the war, remind one of the best of Stephen Leacock. Example: when the British captain gets orders to destroy the bridge that will swamp the town and to save it at the same time. For the most part, though, the book is not as hilarious as it sets out to be. It is fre-

quently sober, and is generally bland.

The Sands of Dunkirk, by Richard Collier (Dutton, 319p. \$4.50).

If you like raw reporting devoid of editorializing, this will interest you. Aside from this firsthand account of the Dunkirk evacuation in mid-1940, Mr. Collier gives insight into the problems of mass mobilization. In a nuclear age such as this, it is well to contemplate the possibilities.

Anzio, by Wynford Vaughan-Thomas (Holt, Rinehart & Winston. 243p. \$5).

The near disaster of the Anzio invasion will continue to be studied by professionals and amateurs. Here one of its participants presents his explanation. The story adds nothing, but is light reading.

The Mind of Voltaire, by Rosemary Z. Lauer (Newman. 155p. \$3.50).

By giving a precise exposition and analysis of Voltaire's long neglected philosophical works, Dr. Lauer fills a void in the study done on Voltaire and gives a new dimension to his other writings. The present book acquaints the reader with the main components in Voltaire's outlook—his metaphysics, his natural philosophy and his religion. The book is scholarly, yet rewarding in its scope and perception.



THE SAND CASTLE (Louis de Rochemont Associates) is a charming, offbeat, small-scale, one-man film project. Written, produced and directed outside the normal commercial film channels by Jerome Hill, it is simply the story of a small boy who fashions an extraordinarily elaborate and authentic turreted medieval sand castle on the beach one afternoon. This juvenile engineering feat elicits varying reactions from a mixed bag of beach habitués. What his sand castle means to the young hero and what he thinks of the grown-up kibitzers is later delineated in color, in a dream sequence featuring moving pasteboard figures.

This kind of movie raises a question in my mind to which I do not know the

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answer. Is it a critics' picture? In other words, is the enjoyment of it dependent on a professional's appreciation of the virtuosity and loving care with which the film maker is, as it were, constructing his own sand castle? Or will its perceptiveness and unpretentious charm appeal equally to the paying customers? [L of D: A-I]

MAN IN THE MOON (*Translux*). This British comedy has already opened in several spots in this country and has received relatively little support from either critics or public. It struck me as quite good iconoclastic fun which deserved better.

The subject of its humor may have something to do with the comparative lack of response. It is a cheerfully outrageous spoof of space travel, which may strike many people at the moment as no laughing matter. Its hero (Kenneth More) is an unshakeably good-hearted citizen with an apparent total immunity to the ills and germs that beset mankind in general. After an uneventful (but entertainingly depicted) career as a human guinea pig in medical research, our hero is recruited into the space program, earmarked, unbeknown to himself, as the expendable pilot of the first moon shot. Despite this unpromising future, he survives (with illusions and geniality intact) to have the last laugh. By way of contrast, the space scientists and his fellow astronauts are portrayed as a bunch of ghoulish, devious, self-centered prima donnas, but the comic style has a controlled, tongue-in-cheek sense of the absurd that effectively neutralizes any charges of impropriety.

Some enterprising press agent should arrange to screen the film for the American astronauts. I think they would prove to be a marvelously receptive audience. [L of D: A-II]

MARINES, LET'S GO (20th Century-Fox) is dedicated, like many another war picture before it, to the proposition that fighting men are noble, lionhearted and unselfish in battle, but raffish, lecherous and dishonest (all in a rather supermanish and appealing way) when on leave. The particular vision of the subject matter that is harbored by Raoul Walsh, who directed the color and CinemaScope film and wrote the original story, seems to be compounded in about equal parts out of *What Price Glory?*, bargain-basement Hemingway and Walsh's own romanticized recollections of World War I. Applied to the story of a riotous leave in Japan sand-

America BOOK LOG

August

The Book Log is compiled from monthly reports supplied by selected stores. The ten books mentioned most frequently are rated according to a point system that reflects both a book's popularity and its relative importance.

1. **NOW**
By Fr. M. Raymond, O.C.S.O. (Bruce, \$4.25)
2. **THE EDGE OF SADNESS**
By Edwin O'Connor (Little, Brown, \$5.00)
3. **TO LIVE IS CHRIST**
By Robert W. Gleason, S.J. (Sheed & Ward, \$3.00)
4. **THE CATHOLIC MARRIAGE MANUAL**
By George A. Kelly (Random House, \$4.95)
5. **THE SACRAMENT OF FREEDOM**
By John B. Sheerin, C.S.P. (Bruce, \$3.50)
6. **MARY WAS HER LIFE**
By Sister Mary Pierre, R.S.M. (Benziger, \$3.95)
7. **THE DIVINE MILIEU**
By Pierre Teilhard de Chardin (Harper, \$3.00)
8. **THIS IS THE HOLY LAND**
By Fulton J. Sheen (Hawthorn, \$4.95)
9. **DR. THOMAS DOOLEY: THREE GREAT BOOKS**
(Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, \$5.00)
10. **A BURNT-OUT CASE**
By Graham Greene (Viking, \$3.95)

AND MARK FOR NOTICE

These outstanding titles merit place in any listing of "what Catholics are or should be reading."

The Movie-Goer, by Walker Percy (Atheneum, \$4). This is a quiet and offbeat story that concentrates on a young man's search for a goal. The atmosphere (New Orleans) is beautifully captured and the moral tone is excellent—and not at all preachy.

Fiction

The Journey Homeward, by Gerald Hanley (World, \$4.50). A somber but deeply moving story of the agony of a state in India that is trying to solve the problems of independence. Superb in its capturing of the tensions between two civilizations.

The Delights of Detection, ed. by Jacques Barzun (Criterion, \$5.95). A wonderful collection of whodunits, some modern, some classic. Chesterton is represented by one of his Fr. Brown stories.

General

Each His Own Tyrant, by Wingfield Hope (Sheed & Ward, \$3.50). Too little love or a love too oppressive can warp a child into becoming a tyrant. This little book, by the author of the well-known *Life Together*, is a profound and deeply spiritual study of the problem.

The Poor Old Liberal Arts, by Robert I. Gannon, S.J. (Farrar, Straus & Cudahy, \$4.00). With the experience afforded him by more than a decade as President of Fordham University, Fr. Gannon wittily and warmly scans the status of education today. Nostalgic and friendly.

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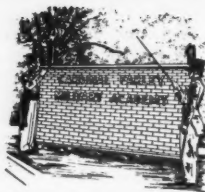
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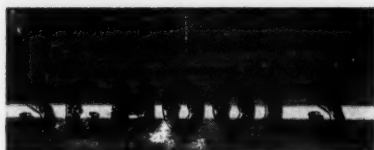
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wiched in between tours of Korean War combat, it simply does not work. The difficulty is that the viewpoint itself seems naive and outmoded rather than simply brought to bear on the wrong war.

In any case, the picture seems by turn embarrassingly childish, excessively sentimental and unnecessarily offensive. Some very competent actors who have never gotten their one big screen break, such as Tom Tryon and David Hedison, are the hapless chief performers. [L of D: B]

MOIRA WALSH



THE BLACKS (St. Marks). A writer in the conservative New York *Herald Tribune* says: "There is little doubt that Jean Genêt is the most important writer to have appeared in France since the end of the Second World War." Paul Morelle, in *Liberation*, describes Genêt's style as impeccably magic and calls *The Blacks* good, true and great theatre. Richard Watts is more restrained in his enthusiasm when he says, in the New York *Post*: "Jean Genêt is steadily becoming more important as a dramatist, and *The Blacks* seems to me the most distinguished work he has yet contributed to the theatre."

Your reviewer's opinion is that *The Blacks* is imaginative topical drama and sensational theatre. If the Dürrenmatts and Osbornes who stormed into the London and New York theatres a few years back were angry men, as they were called at the time, Genêt writes in a towering rage. If Brendan Behan is a ribald dramatist, there is no word for Genêt's crapulous dialogue. Your reviewer is not sure whether a performance of *The Blacks* provides an audience with a cathartic experience, an ordeal or a bad dream. One thing is certain, however; the man writes with tremendous power.

The story, which the author calls a clown show, reflects the currently accelerating revolt of colored humanity against white supremacy, focalized somewhere in Africa. The revolt has not erupted into violence or even open

protest. It is still in the sullen, simmering stage described by old Africa hands in the cliché: "The natives are restless."

Genêt probes into the minds of both blacks and whites, the oppressed and oppressors, revealing the latent resentment of the former and the latter's defensive platitudes. He is on the side of the blacks, articulating their mutinous feelings that have not yet reached the level of conscious protest. An objective observer might say that Genêt makes a case loaded in favor of the blacks. It is difficult, however, to hold on to one's calmness and objectivity at a performance of the play.

The present production is presented on a two-level stage. The rebellious natives grumble and conspire on the lower level, while the European rulers, wearing grotesque white masks, are perched on the higher plane that seems about to topple over, suggesting their superior but precarious position. The upper and lower characters disclose their inner thoughts in parallel dialogue—the blacks venting their festering resentment of the injustices and humiliations they have suffered, while the whites engage in banter on the disarming immaturity of the natives—all this between inquiries on the price of rubber in Wall Street.

Adequate appreciation of *The Blacks*, if it is possible, requires some knowledge of the history of colonialism, its benevolence and atrocities, guided by an alert intelligence. Otherwise the gallimaufry of indecencies, mockery of religious values, anticolonialist propaganda and interracial idealism doesn't make sense. As performed at St. Marks, it doesn't have to make sense. It simply stuns its audience with its emotional impact.

The play is directed by Gene Frankel. Maya Angelou Make, Louis Gosset and Godfrey Cambridge rate E's for excellence in handling their difficult roles. Naming others equally competent in their assignments is forbidden by shortage of space. Their ensemble performance has the air of improvisation demanded by the author's frenzied, incoherent dialogue.

Your reviewer is not familiar with Genêt's ideological slant, if he has one. His vitriolic ridicule of colonialism is bound to beguile unsophisticated African and Asian minds that have not noticed the abandonment of colonialism by their former rulers. The agents of Mr. Khrushchev, notorious whippers of dead horses, can be counted on to keep *The Blacks* conspicuous on the world stage. Its propaganda potential, whether or not intended by the author,

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THEOPHILUS LEWIS



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America • AUGUST 26, 1961

of education—now shockingly expensive—one would wish for them. There is in all this no sign of *that love of money which*, according to St. Paul, *is an idolatry*.

Yet let us not dismiss the question. Is there any sense in which middle-class people may experience the truth of the Augustinian dictum that *he who is the slave of money will have to endure a hard and pitiless master?*

In a world which has made a most systematic cult of comfort, which has endlessly glorified the endless and sometimes useless gadget, and which seriously propounds the imbecility that the cure for smoking too much is to smoke a different brand of cigarette, even the plain or average man stands in danger of losing utterly the sane human concept of *sufficiency*. The idea is not specifically Christian, it is not pagan, it is not Jewish or Buddhist or Confucian. It is simply human and merely sane to say, when a certain point is reached in any kind of satisfaction or achievement: "It is enough." When a man is without this sense of sufficiency or satiety, we say rightly that he is the victim of greed. What happens then? Let Augustine answer: *Trapped by his own greed, he is the servant of the devil, and who can love the devil? Yet he will put up with the devil.*

As we all ought to suspect, *the devil* can take many forms, can wear more than one disguise. A new car, an expensive home, a mink coat, a business expansion, the country club bit, a juicy promotion—all these may indeed be pennies and very much more than pennies from heaven. They may also bedevil a man into angina, incipient alcoholism, and/or precocious ulcers. Status, heaven and hell know, has become demonstrably diabolical.

Over and over again we witness in our hectic day a spectacle that grows steadily more depressing. A likely, honest, hard-working fellow achieves, by long and costly effort, a degree of success in his life. But he never pauses to enjoy it. He at once proceeds to drive himself (or someone else does it for him) to new goals of achievement. It all sounds very noble and admirable. Often enough it is either silly or criminal. There can be neither rest nor joy nor peace nor any kind of satisfaction for the man who can no longer see what satisfaction is. *Satisfaction*, as a term, embodies the Latin word *satis*. *Satis* means *enough*. Enough, everybody? Satisfied?

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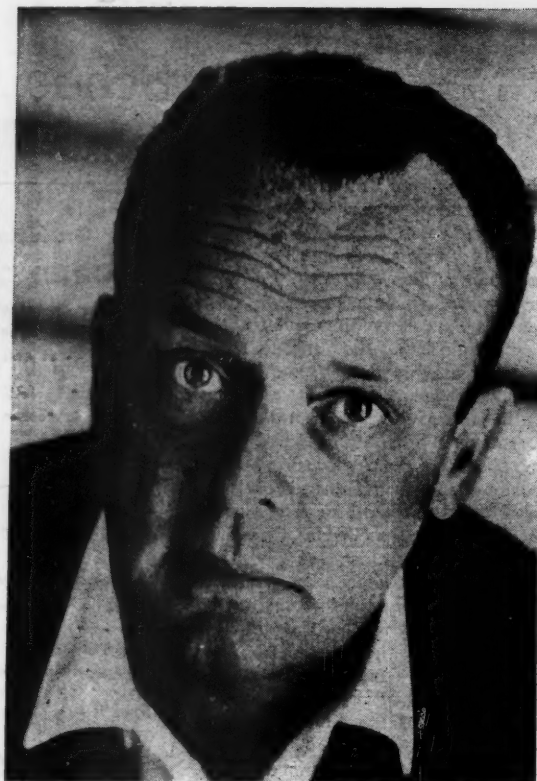


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